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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Proper Way To Study Third World Outlined (Li Guang; SHIJIE ZHISHI, No 20, 1981).....	1
Criticism, Struggle Needed To Correct Mistakes (Xu Jingxiang; FENDOU, 10 Dec 81).....	6
Application of Criticism, Self-Criticism Stressed (Guan Qi; FENDOU, 10 Nov 81).....	8
Western Multi-Party Systems Derogated (Jiang Jianxin, Yin Jinbao; XINHUA RIBAO, 8 Dec 81).....	11
Implementation of Five Stresses, Four Points of Beauty Reported (BAN YUE TAN, 10 Nov 81).....	13

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Beijing Aeronautical Circles Welcome Pilot Defector From Taiwan (HANGKONG ZHISHI, No 12, 1981).....	16
---	----

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Glamor and Love Theme in Movies Repudiated (Liang Heng; GUANGMING RIBAO, 13 Nov 81).....	27
Poet's Self-Criticism Prompted by Readers' Letters (Wang Wenjun; GUANGMING RIBAO, 10 Nov 81).....	29

Cultural Leaders Urged To Strengthen Control (Chun Shan; DAZHONG RIBAO, 7 Nov 81).....	31
Definition of Literary Truthfulness Qualified (Xin Ming; HEBEI RIBAO, 25 Oct 81).....	33
'Govern by Noninterference' in Literature, Art Criticized (Yi Mu, Wan Shui; JIEFANG RIBAO, 22 Oct 81).....	35
Literary Works Reflecting Changes in Countryside Advocated (GUANGMING RIBAO, 4 Dec 81).....	41
Lu Xun Cited as Model of Indifference to Praise, Blame (Yang Zhi; TIANJIN RIBAO, 7 Oct 81).....	43
Importance of Proper Practices in Editorial Work Stressed (Shan Mu; JIEFANG RIBAO, 30 Oct 81).....	45
Large Number of Minority Cadres Elected to Leading Bodies (YUNNAN RIBAO, 15 Nov 81).....	48
Importance of Sincerity in Literary Criticism Stressed (Yu Huanchun; RENMIN RIBAO, 10 Dec 81).....	50
Implications of Bourgeois Liberalization Discussed (Liu Jin; JIEFANGJUN WENYI, Nov 81).....	52

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'SHIDAIDE BAOGAO' Attacks Hong Kong Article on Bai Hua Incident (Xie Zhongkai; CHENG MING, 1 Dec 81).....	56
---	----

TAIWAN

Former Nationalist Peace Delegate Appeals to Taiwan for Unification (Cai Xinyi; RENMIN RIBAO, 18 Dec 81).....	61
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PARTY AND STATE

PROPER WAY TO STUDY THIRD WORLD OUTLINED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 20, 1981 pp 6-7

[Article by Li Guang [2621 0342]: "Discussion on How To Understand and Study the Third World"]

[Text] The Third World is the basic force in the contemporary era opposing imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism. The problems of the Third World directly involve over 70 percent of the world's population and over 100 countries and areas. It is extremely important to study it.

How are we to understand and study the Third World? Below are only some of the superficial bits of knowledge I have gained through experience and several of my ideas for the edification of young comrades.

A Clear Purpose and Scope

Theoretically speaking, young comrades who want to study the Third World could begin by taking the entire Third World as their object and advance their knowledge in an overall manner. But this way of doing things would be very difficult, because this topic is very wide-ranging and complex.

Therefore, persons who take up the study of the Third World always face the problem of how, within the context of the overall goal, to determine the limited or first object and the scope of their study.

When dividing the topic by its nature, some comrades can think of studying the question of the path of development and the question of revolution in the Third World countries; this requires that they focus their study on the internal and external politics, economics, and social contradictions of the various Third World countries. Some comrades can study the position and role of the Third World in international affairs; inevitably they must pay attention to the international relations of the various Third World countries and to the international contradictions and conflicts concerning the Third World. Some comrades can study the Third World from the angle of our country's external relations, and this means that they must inevitably pay much attention to our country's relations with various countries of the Third World.

In dividing the field of study by size, some comrades can study a certain question in the Third World (like the petroleum question and the question of the contradictions between the North and the South); some comrades will take a certain area (like Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America) as the object of their study, or a single country or several countries (like India, Egypt, or Mexico) as the object of their study.

Naturally, there must be a division of the topic, but it should not be divided too finely or too narrow so that it is either unwieldy or incomplete; this would be detrimental to the maturation of a worker engaged in the study of the Third World.

There must also be a plan to divide the topic and scope so that in the future when contradictions gradually come forward one can as quickly as possible grasp their extent.

It is even more important that a comprehensive viewpoint be taken in the study of one topic, one region, or one country. The purpose of our study is to solve the total problem of the Third World in the international situation. Therefore, we must not only be concerned about a certain aspect of the problem but also about the overall situation in the Third World and the overall international situation. Only in this way can we integrate our own study topic to the overall problem. The usual method is to draw three circles for the scope of one's own study and understanding. The outer circle is the general understanding of the overall situation (for example the international situation), the middle circle is the individual's scope of study (like the Middle East), and the inner circle is the problem that the individual is currently and directly trying to understand and solve (like the Middle East policy, and the contradictions in this policy, of the American Government under Reagan), giving each circle a different degree of attention.

I have often seen young comrades, because the subject is large and outside their powers, not know how to set about studying it, or because the subject is too small and the purpose is not clear, take unnecessary pains in studying an insignificant or insoluble problem. Therefore, for the young comrades who want to study Third World problems, the best thing is to rely on their own actual situation and first of all do a little investigation and research so as to clarify the purpose and scope of their study. In this way they can avoid detours in their future work and get twice the results with half the effort.

Grasp Facts and Theories

When embarking on the study and analysis of the selected scope and subject, I feel that grasping facts and theories is especially important.

Generally speaking, if one wants to study and solve a problem, one must always understand the three aspects of this problem. The first aspect is the present condition of this problem, the second is its history and the third is the theory concerning this problem. Comrade Mao Zedong, in his article "Reform Our Study," said that in studying questions of the Chinese Revolution, one had to study China's present status, her history, and the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. Studying the problem of the Third World or other international problems is just the same.

If one does not investigate systematically the conditions that things have passed through and their present development, the crucial and basic facts relating to them, and the data and documents on them, then it will be very difficult to make a correct judgement on a problem. In a piece of research work, often one must spend the greater part of one's time in becoming clear about the facts. This is so, to the extent that we can frequently say that once the facts become clear, the problem will be clear and also near solution.

Facts include details about various aspects. The Third World is the focal point of all sorts of contradictions in the world, and its problems are related to almost any aspect in the world. It is here that contradictions of all sorts intertwine and mutually permeate. Take, for example, the Lebanon incident and the Iranian-Iraqi war. Although what I am talking about is the conflict between Iran and Iraq, it is related to Soviet-American contradictions, to contradictions between the Soviet Union and America on the one hand and the Arab nations of the Middle East on the other, to the contradictions between classes, religious sects, tribes, and borders, and it also involves the interests of Europe and Japan. To take the facts in various aspects and, by making clear the true features of things, to divide the facts into primary facts and secondary facts, and determine their relationships, one must expend a great deal of labor.

Facts also include the latest details. The situation in the Third World develops rapidly. Today this person has risen to power, tomorrow that person has fallen from power. Today he is a friend, tomorrow he is an enemy. Therefore, besides grasping the basic facts, one must grasp the trends. In this aspect, I feel that the key is to regularly read and take notes on press materials. One must make great efforts in studying foreign languages, so that one will be able to look over even more materials. If one's time and energy is limited, one can select one or two kinds of newspapers and periodicals that report fairly widely on conditions in the Third World or on things that are closely related to the problems one is studying to be read regularly, and other newspapers and periodicals can be supplementary. Of course, works specializing in international problems must be read, but due to the fluctuations of international problems, a specialized work that was published 3 or 5 years ago is often out-of-date, as are its statistical figures. But press reports are full of material that changes day by day and is fresh and pertinent. By digesting press reports, one can grasp the latest developments in a situation and the strongest pulse of the time, and thus it is a shortcut to understanding the trend and the crux of a problem.

If one only grasps the materials and does not make a point of grasping theory, there is a possibility that one will lose one's bearings. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the crystallization of one's predecessors' revolutionary experiences. It has stood the test of history, and is the parameter for our study and analysis of problems. Naturally, we oppose the mechanical copying of specific conclusions and expressions from Marxism-Leninism, but it is necessary to study its fundamental standpoints, viewpoints, and methods, so that it becomes the key to our study and the solution of today's international problems.

When studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, one should, based on the requirements of the problem one is researching, study in a focused manner some of the classical documents and quotations. For example, with regard to Third World

problems, one must study some theoretical writings concerning the questions of imperialism and nationalism and colonialism. However, it is even more important to understand fairly comprehensively and systematically the fundamental principles of the theory and system of Marxism-Leninism. The theory created and summed up by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong during a long period of revolutionary practice is systematic and consistent. Although we are studying the problems of the Third World, which is current and partial, we still should study comprehensively and systematically this treasurehouse of theory and arm our minds with it. We often run into this kind of situation: When solving a problem it is hard to cite as support a passage in a classical work and we must depend on a general understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. What should especially be pointed out is that, when studying the problem of the Third World, Comrade Mao Zedong's systematic summation and account of the revolution in semifeudal, semicolonial China play an especially guiding role, because the experience and contradictions of many Third World countries are similar to ours.

Pay Attention to New Situations, Analyze New Problems

In research work, what is most formidable is what is most significant, and what is most interesting is to discover new situations and analyze new problems.

World affairs continually develop quantitatively and qualitatively. From the end of World War II up to the present time, many changes have occurred in the international situation. Just speaking of the Third World, the collapse of the colonial system and the birth of a large number of newly independent countries was a tremendous change. Past experiences familiar to people regarding methods to carry out the struggle against colonialists and imperialists in order to obtain the independence of a country, with the exception of a small number of areas which have not yet obtained independence, have already become useless. And how the countries after becoming independent use the strength of the state's political power to eliminate the influence and effects of colonialism and imperialism, consolidate political independence, and develop the national economy; what kind of strategy for development they should adopt; and what path they take--all of these things are put on a new daily agenda. With regard to these new topics, many Third World countries have already carried out all sorts and kinds of practices and experiments; some of them have made progress, some of them have failed, but all of them need to be summed up. This increases the urgency of doing research on this problem.

Another example: the emergence of Soviet social-imperialism and its rivalry with U.S. imperialism in the Third World was another major change in the Third World. In the past people were familiar with how to struggle against U.S. imperialism, but due to this new factor--Soviet social-imperialism--the strategy and schemes of struggle had to be correspondingly readjusted. How to struggle against Soviet hegemonism, how to deal with the problem of the contradictions between the North and the South, the tendency toward nonaligned movement struggles, etc--all these are new topics for study in the Third World.

Take another example: the relationship between the Third World and the Second World--Western Europe and Japan--is not the relationship between suzerain and vassal state. The Western European community is now promoting a coalition of

Europe, the Arab countries, and Africa, and through the Lome accord is maintaining and strengthening its cooperation with the countries of Africa, Latin America, and Oceania. Japan is also vigorously strengthening its ties with Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and is making plans to form a community embracing the Pacific Ocean. What is the nature of this new relationship between these countries? In what direction will this relationship develop and what kind of results will it produce? This is also a new problem put before us. As for the old problem, it is to be feared that the experience we are familiar with is inadequate. We must, based on the new situation, evaluate and analyze it.

The world is developing ceaselessly, once an old contradiction is resolved, a new contradiction arises, which is complex and full of changes. To be a research worker on international problems, especially a sharp-witted youth, one must always take note of new changes and, under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles, creatively study new problems. If one departs from the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, one will not be able to correctly solve new problems; if one stays in a rut and does not see new situations, then one is even less able to talk about solving new problems. We oppose both of these things. In research work, what we demand is emancipation of the mind and the seeking of truth from facts.

9727

CSO: 4005/432

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM, STRUGGLE NEEDED TO CORRECT MISTAKES

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 12, 10 Dec 81 p 15

[Commentary by Xu Jingxiang [1776 2529 4382] of Jiamusi: "Let Us Beat 'Tigers' As Well As 'Flies'"]

[Text] In order to rectify unhealthy trends, it simply will not do if we fail to beat "tigers" as well as "flies". Because what is analogized by people either as "flies" or "tigers" are invariably those personalities who impinge upon state and collective properties and sabotage fine traditions of the revolution through such devices as establishing "connections," entering by the back door, and resorting to particularization. In turning what is public into something private, committing corruption and theft, bribing and taking bribes, fleecing and extorting, and seeking private gains by taking advantage of official power, there is no essential difference between them; the difference lies only in the degrees of seriousness and dimensions of damage they cause. Therefore we must beat them alike.

If we only beat "flies" and let "tigers" go, allowing the even more harmful "tigers" to do evil and impose tyranny without any inhibition, that would be tantamount to assisting an evil man run his business, and it would not only fail effectively to rectify unhealthy trends but help such trends to continue to spread. Beating only "flies" but not "tigers" means dealing only with small pests but not big vermin. If, as a "fly," one gets beaten and, as a "tiger," one is let go free, people will remain resentful. Under such circumstances, not only will "flies" not be extinguished, but "tigers" will multiply as well; in the end, no unhealthy trend can ever be arrested. Our party and government organs are not bureaucratic offices of the old society but organs that represent the people's will and wishes and handle various practical matters. Nor are our cadres at various levels lords of the old society who used to protect one another while trampling on the people; they are, instead, society's public servants who faithfully serve the people. Whoever may be suspected, once violation of the law and discipline or an unhealthy practice has taken place, we must adhere to the principle of party character and treat him just like anyone else and proceed to investigate seriously and handle him in like matter. Any attempt to conceal, shelter, or condone his conduct would constitute a violation of the interests of the party and the masses of the people and hence cannot be permitted. Of course, such "tigers" are very rare; but the havoc they can play is usually considerable. If we fail seriously to investigate and handle them and mete out punishments firmly, it would be impossible for us to deter bad people, save good people, and stop unhealthy trends.

It will not do if we beat only "flies" and not "tigers"; nor will it do if we beat only "tigers" and not "flies." Because, in the first place, while the havoc "flies" can play may be limited, their numbers are large; if we fail to beat them in time, the consequences could be equally serious, and, in the second place, "flies" are often related to "tigers"; if we refrain from beating "flies," then it would be hard to expose "tigers" and then "tigers" also cannot be beaten accurately.

The key to beating "flies" and "tigers" alike lies in the word "beating." At present, those who cry about beating are numerous but those who really act are rather scarce. Some people worry too much in their considerations; first, they are afraid of discussing persecuting others because they themselves might become isolated; secondly, they are afraid of a lack of support from the leadership so that, if things go wrong, they themselves might incur some consequences; thirdly, they are afraid of retaliation that would lead to their own suffering, etc. As a result, they often take the attitude of "planting more flowers and cutting less thorns in order to save some favors for accommodation in business in the future;" thus when they see some "flies," they immediately close their eyes and when they run into some "tigers," they at once take a detour. Such an ideologically understanding spiritual state violates the principle of the party character and is very dangerous. The question of the party's work style is a big question relating to the life and death of the party in power; everyone of our comrades must in such cases give a high degree of purpose to their revolutionary sense of responsibility by turning "fear" into "daring" and insist assiduously on the struggle against various unhealthy trends.

Next, there is also the question of skillful and unskillful beating. What we speak of here as beating "flies" and beating "tigers" does not mean that we flatten them with a single swing of our swatter or kill them with a single swing of our stick as soon as we see them. It suggests that we must study manners and approaches and seriously carry out various relevant principles and policies. We must not be simplistic and crude and beat at random. At the least, we must pay attention to the following points: First, we must have a strong desire for unity. Because the overwhelming majority of those who make mistakes regarding an unhealthy trend are concerned with the question of contradictions among the people. Therefore, we must follow the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness in order to save the patient," go through criticism and necessary struggle in order to have them correct their mistakes, and thereby unite with them, and work on the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Secondly, we must seek truth from facts; we can neither take "flies" as "tigers," nor take "tigers" as "flies," but beat whichever one actually is and beat as found. And thirdly, we must make a distinction and suit the medicine to the illness by applying different methods to the solution of different problems, such as methods of ideological education, administrative means, economic means, legal means, etc. Only in this way can we practically rectify the various unhealthy trends.

9255

CSO: 4005/413

PARTY AND STATE

APPLICATION OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM STRESSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 11, 10 Nov 81 pp 11-12

[Article by Guan Qi [7979 3823]: "Criticism and Self-Criticism Are the Principal Methods for Solving Contradictions Among the People"]

[Text] Using the methods of criticism and self-criticism to solve contradiction among the people was suggested by Comrade Mao Zedong on the basis of summing up our historical experience. When he discussed in his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," why it was necessary for us to use the methods of criticism and self-criticism to solve intraparty contradictions, he pointed out that our present task was to continue to expand and apply these methods even better among all the people....

In a word, all our 600 million people must adopt these methods to solve contradictions among themselves. Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant idea is of great significance to the strengthening of the unity of the whole party and the people of the whole country, the overcoming of various erroneous tendencies on the ideological front, and the development of the fine situation since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

When mass class struggle on a large-scale in the manner of a strong gale and a torrential rain basically came to a close in our country and we entered the period of socialist construction, contradictions among the people became an increasingly salient problem. It was precisely at that time that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed as the theme of the country's political life the correct handling of contradictions among the people, by dividing complicated and complex social contradictions into two kinds of contradictions of different natures and formulating a set of complete principles and policies for strictly differentiating and correctly handling these two kinds of contradictions of different natures. On the question of how to solve contradictions among the people, Comrade Mao Zedong said: In solving contradictions among the people we must use democratic methods, the method of discussion, the method of persuasion, and the methods of criticism and self-criticism. Although contradictions among the people are numerous and diverse, some are reflected in economic questions, some in political and ideological questions, and some between one part of people and another part of people, etc.; their specific ingredients and situations are different from one another, therefore methods for solving them must surely be different. However, in the various reflections of such contradictions among the people, there always exist questions of an ideological nature. Without doing some work ideologically, these contradictions would not get solved in a proper way.

Whenever questions of an ideological nature are involved, the launching of criticism and self-criticism is the only effective approach. Hence, in this sense, it may be said that the launching of criticism and self-criticism is the main approach to solving contradictions among the people.

As to why we must use the methods of criticism and self-criticism to solve these contradictions, this is determined by the nature of these contradictions. These so-called contradictions among the people are contradictions based on the consistent interests on the part of the masses of the people, and not antagonistic contradictions; they are different from antagonistic contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Although various kinds and types of contradictions exist among the people, there is no fundamental conflict of interest. Realizing the four modernizations, building a socialist powerful country with an advanced civilization and advanced democracy: these are the common ideals and goals of struggle for the masses of the people and this is also where the basis of consistency in fundamental interests among the people lies. Therefore, in handling these kind of contradictions, we need only to insist on proceeding from the desire for unity, to apply correct methods, to carry out criticism and self-criticism in the manner of seeking truth from facts, in order to attain the goal of our new unity.

From the point of view of the principle of dialectical materialism, all things in the world are composed of contradictions; it is precisely the unity and the struggle of the two contradictory sides which push forward the development of things. Criticism and self-criticism are not other than such dynamic forces which solve contradictions within the party or among the people and which push forward the development of our revolution and construction enterprises. The Zunyi Conference went through precisely such criticism and self-criticism. The reason why our party's "Seventh Congress" fared so well was because it first carried out rectification, or, namely, it launched criticism and self-criticism. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the reason why meetings like the 3d and 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee fared so well was also because our party first launched criticism and self-criticism. The experience of our party's practice during the past 60 years indicates that criticism and self-criticism are the effective methods for solving intraparty contradictions and contradictions among the people and for unifying our understanding and strengthening our unity.

Will it do if, in treating contradictions among the people, we refrain from adopting democratic methods, the method of persuasion, and the methods of criticism and self-criticism but adopt, instead, dictatorial methods and coercive methods? From the historical experience of our party's mistakes we know that this will not do. During the 10 years of turmoil, people indeed employed the approach of resorting unrestrictedly to class struggle in handling contradictions among the people; they employed the approach of suppression in place of persuasion and education; they employed the approaches of limitlessly raising questions to the plane of principle, criticizing and struggling at random, relentlessly attacking others, and engaging in cruel struggles in place of criticism and self-criticism. In doing so, they brought great sufferings to the party and the state, to the people of the various nationalities of the country. This lesson tells us from the negative side that we can never treat contradictions among the people by the method of antagonistic struggle.

Will it do if, in the face of contradictions among the people, we simply throw up our hands and do nothing about them? Naturally, that won't do either. The principle of dialectical materialism tells us, the nature of contradictions can, under given conditions, become transformed. When contradictions between the enemy and ourselves are properly handled, they can be transformed into contradictions among the people and, in the case of contradictions among the people, if we should become numb and careless, or erroneous in our perception, and thereby fail to distinguish the nature of the contradictions in question and fail to adopt correct methods in handling them, we could also radicalize such contradictions among the people and have them transformed into antagonistic contradictions. At present, with respect to the social trend of bourgeois liberalization prevailing in our society, if we look at it without seeming to see it and let it spread and corrupt the people, that will bring great dangers to the cause of our socialist construction. Just as the central leading comrades have pointed out: With respect to these problems, if we fail to pay attention and launch criticism and necessary struggle, then when worst comes to worst, it could cause the radicalization of the contradictions on hand and well result in great chaos.

During the past 60 years since the establishment of our party, both positive and negative historical experiences and lessons have enabled us to achieve an ever clearer understanding of the correct principle that launching criticism and self-criticism is the main approach to solving contradictions among the people and have also strengthened our determination to solve contradictions among the people by launching criticism and self-criticism. Every comrade must acquire a clear understanding in this, must establish a correct attitude; the practice of mincing resistance and opposition once criticism and self-criticism are broached is far removed from Marxism. Some people look upon themselves as heroes; it is all right for them to criticize others and expose their mistakes, but it will not do for them to be the subject to some criticism and it will work even less if they are asked to criticize themselves. There are also some people who, insofar as those who are being criticized are concerned, neither bother to understand their situations nor realize what is going on, but proceed singlemindedly to oppose the criticism, and express sympathy for these people who are being criticized. There are among such people, with the exception of a very small minority who have devious intentions, some who are muddle-headed and whose feelings are misguided; they are unclear regarding the principle that launching criticism and self-criticism is the main approach to solving contradictions among the people.

In launching criticism and self-criticism, we must master the criteria for measuring right and wrong. Today, when we observe history, when we observe present conditions, and when we judge right and wrong, we should all take the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee as our norm and the four basic principles as our norm. If we criticize at random without distinguishing right from wrong, we would only make things messy. In launching criticism and self-criticism, we must seek truth from facts and proceed from the desire for unity; regarding how the nature of the mistakes of those comrades who have made such mistakes should be recognized, and how they should be handled, we must all be very precise and to the point, study the methods to be employed and pay attention to results.

At present, we must respond to the call of the Party Central Committee, take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, correctly handle contradictions among the people, overcome the state of laxity and feebleness and various erroneous tendencies in the leadership of the ideological front.

PARTY AND STATE

WESTERN MULTI-PARTY SYSTEMS DEROGATED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Jiang Jianxin and Yin Jinbao [5592 1696 2450 and 0603 6651 1405]:
"Does Democratic Politics Require a Western Multi-Party System?"]

[Text] Some people believe that the two or more party systems of capitalist nations, in which the parties alternately hold power, are an expression of political democracy. This viewpoint arises from a lack of understanding of the bourgeois multi-party systems.

By bourgeois multi-party system we mean a system in a bourgeois country in which two or more political parties take power through presidential election campaigns. In concrete form such systems can be separated into those where a number of parties share power jointly (multi-party systems) and those where two parties take turns holding power (two party systems). Of these, the two party system is more typical. Under a bourgeois two party system, the political parties which represent the interests of the bourgeoisie take turns participating in the management of the capitalist nation. Ordinarily, the party which is victorious in parliamentary or presidential elections gains power, while the defeated party becomes the party out of power, that is the opposition party. The Western bourgeoisie have always taken the existence of the "opposition party" to be a mark of democratic politics. Actually, for the workers who comprise the absolute majority of society's population, regardless of the adoption of a multi-party or a two party system, there is no real democracy to speak of.

Taking America as an example, the two major political parties, which for a long time now have taken turns governing, are the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Although the names are different, both are political parties which openly support capitalism. In terms of organizational form, neither party has regular party members, party members need not follow set procedures to enter the party and need not pay party dues, and a person need only indicate that he belongs to a particular party at the time of electorate registration in order to become a party member. During the elections, party members can elect the candidates for their party and can also vote for those in the other party. The presidential candidates of the two parties will sometimes not even be a leader of those parties. We can see from this kind of organizational format that the "two parties" really have no distinct differences. Both take campaigning to be their primary activities, and both are run behind the scenes by monopoly capitalists. This

point is strikingly demonstrated during the election campaigns of the two parties. In all of America's previous major elections, the funding for the two parties has all come from monopolistic financial groups. So that their interests do not suffer, monopolistic capitalists sometimes aid one party and sometimes aid the other party during election campaigns, and they sometimes offer aid to both political parties at the same time. For example, Rockefeller, Mellon, Morgan and other large financial groups on the surface appear to be republicans, but during the elections they almost always aid both parties--with the amount of aid divided with an eye to circumstances. Their aim, of course, is to guarantee that the person who most meets their requirements assumes power. Which party is up and which is down appears on the surface to be determined by the "will of the people," but is actually determined according to the will of the monopoly financial groups. Whoever rises to power as a result of this, be it democrat Carter or republican Reagan, is but a political representative of the monopoly capitalists.

Some people believe that the bourgeois two party system allows the opposition party to inspect the government, as well as to offer frequent criticism and reproach. Doesn't this broadly reflect the "will of the people" and insure that their government carries out so called "democratic politics"? Actually, this is confusion brought about by certain false images of bourgeois democracy. As noted earlier, since the two bourgeois political parties are both representatives of bourgeois interests, the existence of an opposition party really has no influence on the policies and principles established and put into effect to protect their interests. On the surface, if the party in power in the course of governing slips up one day, the opposition party will "come boldly forward" and with the support of public opinion offer unrestrained criticism of the government. Especially during the campaign periods, the opposition party exerts great effort to expose the failings of the party in power, while at the same time taking the opportunity to make suggestions that correspond to the desires of the masses. This creates a false impression that it is speaking on behalf of the people, and that if it is only allowed to assume control, it can change the present situation and overcome social abuses. Actually, once the campaign is over, regardless of which party has taken control, it is the same old thing in a different form. The general policies of the bourgeois countries which represent the interests of each of the monopoly financial groups will not change as a result of election campaigns. Former U.S. President Nixon once said: "Our political parties are organizations working to take political power and this is as it should be, because if the differences in principle of the two parties were very great and this led to a change of power from one party to the other, then it would signify a fundamental change, and that would be dangerous." The author of the book, "American Political Parties and Elections," spoke even more to the point. He indicated that the alternating of control by the two parties is but democracy within the ranks of the bourgeoisie. It is a point of pride that in a place where a two party system has been established for a long period of time communism has not made great strides. This is the best indication of the essence of the relationship of the bourgeois political figures to their political party system.

In short, the bourgeois multi-party system has developed until today it has already completely become a tool of governing which cheats and deceives the people. We must not be confused by the outward appearance of Western democracy and should be clear about and expose its empty nature.

9705

CSO: 4005/416

PARTY AND STATE

IMPLEMENTATION OF FIVE STRESSES, FOUR POINTS OF BEAUTY REPORTED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 21, 10 Nov 81 pp 32-33

[Article: "This Is the Way We Must Take Charge of the Activity of the 'Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty'"]

[Text] The Huazhuangzi and Sanyuan Street neighborhood committee of Congwen Ward in Beijing Municipality has taken charge of 10 matters centering around the "five stresses and four points of beauty." As a result, this activity has been carried out in grassroots units and heartening changes have taken place in the appearance of the general mood of the society and the neighborhood. These 10 matters are:

First, conducting extensive propaganda to create public discussion. The neighborhood committee has set up 21 propaganda posts and 7 blackboard newspapers in streets and alleys to propagandize the new practice of the "five stresses and four points of beauty." They demanded the working out of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" as "beauty of the spirit in loving the party and country and in one's concern for the collective; beauty of the language in neighborliness and treating people with manners; beauty of the conduct in observing discipline and abiding by the law, respecting the aged and caring for the young; and beauty of the environment of streets, homes and compounds." They visited sick and crippled residents to conduct propaganda, and organized special study among more than 80 old women who look after young children. Moreover, they set up folk song classes for the "five stresses and four points of beauty" attended by children between the ages of 4 to 6. The substance of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" has basically been made known to every household.

Second, operating a home for teenagers. The neighborhood committee vacated an office with 40 square meters and has operated it as a home for teenagers. They usually hold frequent activities and celebrations on festivals. At the evening party of the mid-autumn festival, they donated 200 yuan from the sale of tea to the masses suffering national disasters in Baoji, Shaanxi. The library issued over 300 library cards to teenagers, made 25 library boxes, and traveled between residential centers to loan out books. The teenagers home also evaluated and selected 326 enthusiasts of activities who observe discipline, are particular about culture and are well-mannered.

Third, setting up residents' "service groups" and doing good deeds for working couples. Sixty-four "service groups" were formed among more than 250 retired

workers, neighborhood activists and young people waiting for employment. Services include looking after the houses of working couples, educating their children, and doing all sorts of household duties; helping to order and purchase coal, food, milk, and collecting and delivering rent and payment for water and electricity. To resolve the problem of lunch for children of working couples, retired workers cooked and operated "small dining tables" which pleased the parents.

Fourth, formulating "residents' rules," evaluating and comparing model families. They launched discussions among the masses to formulate "residents' rules" whose main substance is the "five stresses and four points of beauty." They demanded that the broad masses of residents be good workers and do a good job in their units; be good citizens and stress social morality; be good members and stress harmony in the family; and be good neighbors and stress unity in the compound. Through the recommendation of neighbors, discussion by the compound administrative committee and approval by the neighborhood committee, 315 model families of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" have been elected this year. They have also elected over 1,400 members of these model families and the good news was brought to their actual work units.

Fifth, providing convenience to couples with only children. Since February, the sanitation station of the neighborhood committee has set up a "service desk for only children," which explains general knowledge on pregnancy to newlyweds and on nutrition to young parents. Numerous meetings are held to exchange experience on the education of only children. Only children constitute 98 percent of the whole neighborhood committee, making it an advance unit in the ward's planned parent-hood.

Sixth, caring for the family members of military martyrs, retired and solitary old men. Home visits are often made, and when problems are discovered they are promptly resolved. An "old folks' home" has been established, which is supplied with newspapers and magazines, chess sets, and poker cards. Activities are conducted three times a week. The young people have taken responsibility for all trivial matters in the daily life of six solitary old men of the whole neighborhood committee and have looked after them well.

Seventh, paving roads, planting flowers, and beautifying the environment. The residential area was originally full of dirt roads. Dust and dirt flew on windy days and the streets became muddy when it rained. This summer, the young people paved over 1,400 square meters of roads with square cement bricks and dirt roads have basically been covered by the bricks. They have also planted some trees and repaired six flowerbeds.

Eighth, finding a place for young people waiting for jobs. This year, the original automobile parking lot was enlarged to include a sales department for repairing car tires, a tea-stall, a sales stand for bread, and a construction group to enhance urban appearance. In addition to various channels including recommendation for outside work, employment for a total of 117 senior high school graduates of 1981 has been arranged, which is 96 percent of the total. Work has even been arranged for 10 sick and crippled youths.

Ninth, organizing young people to study. The neighborhood committee often educates young people with the "five stresses and four points of beauty" by inviting crippled veterans, advance youth of the financial front and advance personalities in public security to make reports and launch discussions on special topics such as "how to contribute to the four modernizations while waiting for job distribution." Large numbers of young people submitted reports on what they learned and their resolution letters to the neighborhood committee.

Tenth, rescuing teenagers who have taken a wrong step in life. Each of the 14 such teenagers of the neighborhood committee has been assisted and educated by their own individual group that does thoroughgoing and painstaking work. These teenagers have undergone varying degrees of change, and work has been arranged for them. Two of them have been praised by the newspaper, seven have applied to join the CYL, and one has been elected the neighborhood's shock worker of the new long march.

9586

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BEIJING AERONAUTICAL CIRCLES WELCOME PILOT DEFECTOR FROM TAIWAN

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AEROSPACE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 12, 1981 pp 2-5

[Article: "Aeronautical Circles in Capital Hold Tea Party To Welcome Huang Zhicheng"]

[Text] On 13 October, aeronautical circles in the capital held a tea party in the Zhejiang Room of the Great Hall of the People to celebrate warmly the 32d anniversary of the founding of the state and to welcome Huang Zhicheng's [7806 2784 6134] revolt and return to the mainland. Leaders, specialists, professors, scientific and technical workers, and pilots of the air force, navy, civil aviation, Third Ministry of Machine Building, Seventh Ministry of Machine Building, Physical Culture and Sports Commission, Academy of Sciences, and Beijing Aeronautical College, as well as over 50 representatives of press units in the capital, took part in informal discussions there. Mei Jiasheng, He Wenzhi [0149 2429 3112], Yao Jun [1202 1498], Liang Shoupan, Hua Fengxiang [5478 7685 5046], Wang Nanshou [3769 0589 1108], Sun Jiadong, Lu Shijia [7120 1102 0857], Yan Minggao [7346 7686 4108], Qian Fuxing [6929 4395 2502], Xu Guo'an [1776 0948 1344], Xu Hongjia [1776 7703 0857], Ma Liandai [7456 5114 3782], Han Shuqin [7281 3219 3830] and other comrades made speeches at the party, relating in glowing terms the motherland's achievements in aviation development since the founding of the state, warmly supporting [NPC] Standing Committee Chairman Ye's and [CCP] Chairman Hu's speeches on the motherland's unity, welcoming Huang Zhicheng's revolt and return to the mainland, and hoping that the aeronautical circles on the mainland and Taiwan will join hands and make many joint contributions to the development of the motherland's aeronautical undertakings. Chen Yuan [3088 0337], president of the China Aeronautics Society, presided over the tea party. Chen Yuan and Huang Zhicheng also made speeches at the party. Below are the contents of some of the speeches made at this forum.

I Hope the Aeronautical Circles on the Mainland and Taiwan Will Join Hands in Cooperation

By Chen Yuan, president of the China Aeronautics Society

During the past 32 years, our motherland's aeronautical development has, under the leadership of the CCP and through the efforts of the people of the entire country, gone from nothing to something, from small to big, and from weak to strong, so that China has already built an aeronautical industrial system that possesses a definite scope and which is comparatively complete in all categories, from research and design to production, and which can research, design, and manufacture our country's new type aircraft. Our people's air force has also been expanded and developed, and has made contributions to the defense of our sacred and inviolable airspace. Our civil aviation undertakings are developing vigorously, their foreign and domestic routes and flights are increasing, and specialized civil aviation for serving the construction of the motherland has also been developed. Our country's aeronautical educational programs have received the full attention of the party and the government, and have formed an educational system of colleges, polytechnic schools, and air force flying schools for training specialized aeronautical talent. Our country's air sports project is also developing in big strides. All this shows that only under the leadership of the CCP could our country's socialism have made such great achievements.

On 30 September, Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, made a statement to XINHUA reporters in which he clarified the general and specific policies for Taiwan's reversion to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification. The nine points for the realization of peaceful reunification put forward by Standing Committee Chairman Ye fully conform to the desires and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in the country, including our compatriots on Taiwan, and they have received warm support and positive responses from the people of all nationalities in China including our compatriots on Taiwan, in Hong Kong and Macao, as well as our Overseas Chinese compatriots. They have also been widely supported by international public opinion. We eagerly expect that Taiwan will soon revert to the motherland, that peaceful reunification will be realized, and that together we will make great efforts toward the goal of realizing the four modernizations in the motherland.

There are two aspects of aeronautics--national defense and civil use. We believe that all the personnel on Taiwan engaged in national defense aeronautical activities want to struggle for Taiwan's reunification with the motherland and do not want to make senseless sacrifices to keep the motherland divided. A fine example of this is Comrade Huang Zhicheng's response to the motherland's reunification call. He resolutely rose up in revolt and flew his plane back to the mainland of the motherland, and also acted honorably and joined the PLA Air Force.

The nine points for realizing peaceful reunification point out that "the people of all nationalities on both sides of the strait eagerly hope to exchange information, reunite family members, develop trade, and promote understanding. We propose that relevant agreements be reached by the two sides for joint postal access, open sea and air traffic, visits to relatives, and travel, as well as convenient launching of academic, cultural, and sports interchange." We warmly

support this positive proposal. The launching of academic interchange can not only jointly raise scientific and technical levels and develop the motherland's aeronautical programs, but also at the same time can promote friendship and contacts between aeronautical scientific and technical personnel on both sides of the strait so that they will learn from each other's strong points to offset their own weaknesses, and make contributions to the construction of the motherland's socialist modernization.

Our China Aeronautics Society is an academic organization of a mass character, and was voluntarily formed by personnel in our country who possess a definite scientific and technical level in aeronautics (including space flight). In Taiwan's aeronautical circles, there are many old friends of ours. Accordingly, we formally invite our counterparts in Taiwan's aeronautical circles to choose representatives to participate in the future third congress and council of the China Aeronautics Society, and the specific arrangements for this can be negotiated beforehand. The China Aeronautics Society is also willing to make further contacts with aeronautical scientific and technical organizations on Taiwan, establish extensive relations, and discuss the relevant arrangements for academic interchange. We welcome our counterparts in Taiwan's aeronautical circles to come and take part in the specialized academic meetings of the China Aeronautics Society, carry out academic interchange, as well as look around, visit, and see their relatives; we also welcome our counterparts in Taiwan's aeronautical circles to return and carry out with us scientific research or exchange personnel to give lectures, etc. The China Aeronautics Society also hopes to establish as quickly as possible a relationship with Taiwan's aeronautical circles to exchange publications.

In short, we want to be friends with our counterparts in Taiwan's aeronautical circles in order jointly to make great efforts for the great cause of reunification of the motherland and for the great plan of realizing the vigorous development of China.

The Growth and Development of the People's Air Force

By Yao Jun, vice president of the China Aeronautics Society and deputy chief of staff of the PLA Air Force

This forum of ours happens to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. On 10 October, the NPC and the government held an impressive meeting to commemorate the 1911 revolutionary, Dr Sun Yat-sen, and the martyrs and heroes of the 1911 revolution. This was very significant.

Dr Sun Yat-sen was the great forerunner of China's democratic revolution. His originating of the Three People's Principles and of his ideas on national equality, national liberation, the practicing of democratic government, the control of capital, and the equalization of land ownership represented the aspirations of the toiling masses in China at that time and provided direction for China's advance. From the setbacks and defeats suffered by the revolution, Dr Yat-sen came to understand the importance of establishing and controlling a revolutionary army. He said: "With a good reliant revolutionary army, our revolutionary cause can succeed; if we do not have a good revolutionary army, the

Chinese revolution will always be defeated." For this reason, he personally founded the Whampoa Military Academy and organized a new army. Dr Yat-sen had, early on, thought of setting up an air force. Not long after the 1911 revolution, he set about organizing the Chinese Army Flying Corps, and sent people to America to purchase single-wing airplanes. At the same time, he invited an American aircraft engineer to come to China, where he would receive a high annual salary. He also expended much money in advertising for pilots, but as there were not many takers he gave it up. Although Dr Yat-sen did not realize his dream of building an air force, 70 years ago he saw the importance of an air force and put forth great efforts to build one. One can well perceive from this his foresight, sagacity, and fighting spirit.

This unrealized dream of Dr Yat-sen's--building a revolutionary air force--has today been realized by his close friends, the Communist Party members.

As early as during the extremely difficult and hard years of the war of resistance against Japan, our party showed great foresight by dispatching a group of comrades to Xinjiang to study aviation and by forming an aeronautical engineering team in Yan'an. In 1946, the party set up in the northeast an air column and founded a flying school. This was the cradle for the birth and growth of the people's air force.

On the eve of the birth of new China, the great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Today we have the conditions for building a powerful air force and we should quickly set it up." "Establish a powerful people's air force, wipe out the remnants of the enemy forces, and consolidate national defense." In accordance with the directives of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, organic units made up of whole divisions and whole regiments were transferred from the army, as were outstanding officers and men who had been tempered in the flames of war, to become the backbone elements. The party recruited in succession for the air force large numbers of intellectuals and aviation technicians of the Kuomintang. On this foundation, the people's air force was rapidly organized. Today it has become an indestructible armed force defending the motherland and safeguarding world peace. Not only does it have a considerable number of airmen who can use Chinese-built airplanes and advanced technical equipment, but also it is a combined arms service composed of airborne forces, ground-to-guided missiles, antiaircraft artillery, and radar. At present, there are, in various parts of the motherland, officers and men undergoing intensive training; at every moment the people's "fighting eagles"--airplanes--are patrolling the vast blue sky. I think that if Dr Yat-sen could see all of this, he would be highly gratified. Dr Sun Yat-sen proposed in those years that "the military force be integrated with the people and the military force be made a people's military force." Our air force is this kind of new-type people's armed force that comes from the people, serves the people, and has a highly patriotic and internationalist spirit, and whose purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Over the past 30-odd years, it has played a major role and made the proper contributions to defending the safety of the motherland's territorial airspace, consolidating national defense, and supporting the cause of building socialism.

In 1950, just after new China had been founded, there occurred America's aggression against Korea. The young men of the people's air force vied with one another

to join the volunteer army who crossed the Yalu River, resisted U.S. aggression and aided Korea, and protected their homes and defended their motherland. Confronting U.S. imperialism, the officers and men of our volunteer army's air force were heroic and dauntless. In air battles, they shot down 3 enemy planes in one battle, shot down 4 enemy planes in one day, and a dadui performed the military exploit of shooting down or damaging 15 enemy planes in succession without loss to itself. America's "top flying aces" Davis and Edward were respectively killed and shot down by our young flyers. In the 3-year war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, our air force shot down or damaged 2,417 enemy planes, thoroughly smashing the so-called "air superiority" of the American Army which invaded Korea. Vandenberg, at that time the U.S. Air Force chief of staff, could only say in amazement: "Almost overnight China has become one of the major air powers in the world."

From 1952 to 1964, in air operations to defend the nation's territory, the people's air force shot down or damaged intruding U.S.-made F-84, F-86, RB-57D, RF-101, P2V, and U-2 planes, thus protecting the people's security and the cause of building socialism.

In February 1979, our air units stationed along the border of Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region took part in the Chinese-Vietnamese border war of self-defensive counterattack. For more than a dozen days in succession, our air force units played out a battle scene of large missions, many missions were flown at many levels, by many types of planes, in the attack. Every day several hundreds of missions were flown in the air on our side of the border, shuttling back and forth in patrols to cover the attacks by the ground forces. Deterred by our powerful strength in the air, the Vietnamese planes holed up and would not come out, so that right up to the time that our border defense units withdrew in triumph, one could not see a trace of them. Over the past 30-odd years, the heroic fighters of our air force have written in the vast blue sky one glorious paean after another to patriotism and internationalism, and have protected the motherland's sacred territorial airspace and the nation's honor.

We encountered many difficulties in establishing a modern, regular revolutionary air force in such a scientifically and technologically backward country as ours. An important reason that we were able rapidly to build up an air force was the concern shown by the party and the state. The people love their air force, and they supported its construction with tremendous manpower, material resources, and financial resources. In order to repay the motherland and the people, our air force, while charged with missions of combat and national defense, has enthusiastically supported the state's economic construction. The air force has participated in work such as the opening up of new civil air routes, aerial surveys, aerial mineral prospecting, air transportation, and the seeding and caring of forests by aircraft; and has enthusiastically helped the people to resist natural disasters by bombing icebound rivers, air dropping relief supplies, conveying injured and sick people, exterminating destructive pests, and making artificial rainfall. In 1976, when an exceptionally large earthquake occurred in Tangshan Prefecture, our air force units made 2,037 missions to transport 2,513 tons of relief materials and rescue over 20,000 persons, expending their last ounce of strength to alleviate the people's losses and suffering.

At present, most of the officers and men of the air force are pouring their ardent patriotic zeal and revolutionary heroic spirit into combat-preparedness training, and the combat effectiveness of the units is continually improving. In 1980, the number of Class A Air Combat Groups able to fight and fly day and night in all kinds of weather had increased 5 times over the number in 1979, and the training achievements had surpassed the previous highest standards. Last year, Class A Air Combat Groups throughout the air force held test competitions in firing and bombing. Many superior groups and teams and several hundreds of "first-rate aerial marksmen" are emerging throughout the air force.

In September of this year, fighter planes, attack planes, bombers, antiaircraft guns, ground-to-air guided missiles, and airborne units of our air force took part in a military exercise under modern conditions, which was reviewed by leading comrades of the central authorities and the people. The units that took part in the exercise and were reviewed demonstrated a high degree of fighting will, staunch work style, strict discipline, and mastery of combat skills in satisfactorily completing their missions; for this they were commended by the leading comrades of the central authorities.

Obviously, there is still a definite gap between us and some of the scientifically and technologically developed countries in the world. Our aircraft and technical equipment are still comparatively backward. We cannot be content with the present state of affairs, but must unceasingly make efforts and struggle continuously to strengthen the construction of the people's air force.

When commemorating the 1911 revolution and Dr Sun Yat-sen, we cannot help thinking about the fact that the motherland is still not reunited and that the military confrontation on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait still exists. On New Year's Day of 1979, our NPC Standing Committee issued the "Letter to Compatriots on Taiwan," which put forward a broad administration policy for the peaceful unification of the motherland. It received a warm welcome and enthusiastic response from the people of all nationalities in China, including the compatriots in Taiwan, the compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, and the Overseas Chinese. A warm atmosphere abounded in the Taiwan Strait. On 30 September of this year, Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying again issued a statement, further clarifying the general and specific policies for Taiwan's reversion to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification, and fully embodying the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the compatriots on the mainland and Taiwan. On 14 August of last year, Air Force Deputy Commander Cheng Jun proposed that the mainland's air force and Taiwan's air force join together for the common defense of the motherland's construction. He fully expressed the disinclination of the officers and men of the three branches of the PLA to resort to military force and their hope for good prospects in the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We hope our colleagues in Taiwan's aeronautical circles and all the officers in the Kuomintang air force will make a positive response to the motherland's call, that they urge the Kuomintang authorities, to make the righteous cause of the nation the most important object, to relinquish their former enmity, so that together we will complete the great cause of reunifying the motherland and realize the grand plan energetically to develop China, thereby win honor for our forefathers and prosperity for our descendants, and write a glorious new chapter in the history of the Chinese nation!

The Development of Our Country's Aviation Industry

By Wang Nanshou, director of the China Aeronautics Society and deputy director of the China Aeronautics Research Institute

On behalf of the comrades from the Third Ministry of Machine Building who are attending this forum, I express warm welcome to Comrade Huang Zhicheng, who revolted and flew his plane back to the motherland.

Today, we have the opportunity to talk with you about the successes, since the founding of the state, in building our country's aviation industry, something which makes people happy. Your love for the motherland, your determined break-away from the Kuomintang authorities' control, your return to the mainland of the motherland, and participation in the building of socialism--this has been a valuable contribution to the promotion of the early peaceful reunification of the motherland, to the increase in exchange between the aeronautical circles on the two sides of the strait, as well as to the development of the motherland's aeronautical undertakings.

Many comrades have just separately spoken of the situation in the air force and in civil aviation. Now I would like to say something about the development of China's aviation industry.

Before new China was established, China's aviation enterprise was insignificant; it could keep in good repair only aircraft bought abroad, or use foreign materials to assemble a few aircraft. It had no independent aviation industry with the initiative in its own hands and did not produce a single aircraft of its own design or use aircraft made of the country's own materials.

The birth of new China in 1949 opened up incomparably broad prospects for the development of our country's aviation industry. Over the past 32 years, our country's aviation industry has gone through a developmental process from being nothing to being something, from being small to being big, from repairing to manufacturing, and from copying to developing by itself. As of now, the aviation industrial system has several hundred thousand workers and staff, several million square meters of factory space, mass-production and scientific and technical equipment, and comparatively complete categories, and has a fairly solid production base and scientific research and educational units.

Over the past 32 years, our country has carried out serial production of subsonic and supersonic fighter planes, short-range and long-range bombers, 5th- and 11th-class transport planes, as well as helicopters and trainer-aircraft ranging from piston-driven beginning trainers to jet supersonic high-quality trainers. The above-mentioned airplanes and their complete equipment--engines, electrical systems, instruments, system accessories, and weapons--as well as all the raw and processed materials for them, all, with the close cooperation of the electronics, metallurgical chemical engineering, building materials, textile, weapons, and other state industrial departments, received their final complete assembly in aircraft factories that are all situated within the country.

Following the development of production, the work of scientific research and the development of new planes by our country's aviation industry was gradually launched. Beginning in 1956, designing rooms and research laboratories were set up in relevant factories. By the end of the 1950's, these organizations and institutions of higher education had designed and flown 12 types of aircraft. This was a good beginning for our country's aviation industry to develop and manufacture on its own. On this foundation, the design, development and manufacture of new planes advanced further, and there were units equipped with new planes, units soon to be equipped with them, and there were additional new planes being developed and manufactured. In the early 1960's, the Aeronautics Science and Technology Research Institute was set up, and was charged with the mission of organizing in a unified way the work of basic research and advance research in aeronautics technology, of providing the product designing departments with the results of research, and of carrying out some of the tests and appraisals during the development and manufacture of models. It leads various specialized research institutes that engage in research on aerodynamics, structural strengthening, aviation gas turbines, flying, lifesaving, optical machinery, partial avionics, air weapons systems, electronic calculators, and scientific information. They all have a definite scope and, while launching scientific research work, are continually being built up and improved.

Over the past 32 years, in order to continually train and provide talent for the aviation industry, we have set up the Beijing Aeronautical College, Nanjing Aeronautical College and Northwest Industrial University as the key comprehensive colleges; aeronautical institutions of higher education are also run in Shenyang, Zhengzhou, and Nanchang. There are also a considerable number of secondary aeronautical schools and technical schools. At the same time, along with some European countries and the United States, we have carried out friendly technical cooperation and exchanges and have sent students and graduate students to study in these countries, thereby accelerating the training of aeronautical scientific and technical talent.

Our country's aviation industry, under the correct leadership of the CCP and the people's government, has achieved these successes which surpass what was envisaged by Dr Sun Yat-sen in his "Outline of National Reconstruction" and "Plan for Industry." We are still continuing to make great efforts, with full confidence that we will achieve new successes.

Standing Committee Chairman Ye's statement issued on the eve of National Day concerning the realization of the peaceful reunification of the motherland was in complete accord with the wishes and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in the country. The entire body of staff and workers in our aviation industry warmly welcome and firmly support it. We hope to strengthen contacts with our colleagues in Taiwan's aeronautical circles, promote understanding between the people on the two sides of the strait, and speed up the development of the motherland's aviation enterprise, thereby making more contributions toward the great cause of completing the motherland's reunification. Here, we earnestly hope that the Taiwan authorities will respond positively to Standing Committee Chairman Ye's proposal and as soon as possible effect a third cooperation between China's Communist Party and China's Kuomintang Party.

The Cherished Desire of Space Flight Scientific and Technical Personnel

By Sun Jiadong, director of the China Aeronautics Society and vice president of the China Space Technology Research Institute

Today, I am very happy to take part in the tea party welcoming Comrade Huang Zhicheng. I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the comrades engaged in space flight work, to express to him a warm welcome and esteem for his patriotic act.

Under the leadership of the CCP, our motherland has achieved tremendous successes in building socialism. The development of our country's space flight undertakings is a strong proof of this. Under the loving care of the party Central Committee, we have become self-reliant, have gone from being nothing to being something, and have built up a space flight technical contingent of considerable scope. Relying on its own capability, the country has energetically launched many artificial earth satellites. With regard to satellite recovery technology and multiple satellite-carrying rockets, we have begun to enter the world's advanced ranks. Facts forcibly show that our Chinese nation is an ambitious and capable nation! In the great cause of building socialism, all scientific and technical personnel who are willing to serve the motherland have a broad scope for their talents! Along with the development of circumstances in the country, we will make even greater contributions to building a modernized powerful socialist country. There are great prospects for the space flight undertakings that we are working for!

The realization of the four modernizations accords with the will of the people, and the great cause of completing the reunification of the motherland enjoys popular confidence. The general and specific policies for Taiwan's reversion to the motherland, as clarified in the speeches of Standing Committee Chairman Ye and Chairman Hu, are in complete accord with the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including our compatriots on Taiwan. The great number of our comrades engaged in space flight work firmly support them.

The vigorous development of China is the responsibility of every Chinese, and the realization of the reunification of the motherland is a great historical trend. We know that we will still encounter many difficulties on our path of advance, but we firmly believe that this historical trend is irresistible! If only the people of all nationalities throughout the country, including the people on Taiwan, Overseas Chinese, and all noble-minded patriots, make great efforts then the aspiration of 1 billion people--the historical cause of Taiwan's reversion to the motherland and peaceful reunification--can certainly be realized! And the grand plan for China's vigorous development can certainly be realized!

Our comrades engaged in space flight work want to make their proper contributions to this cause.

I Want To Contribute My Strength to the Motherland's Reunification

By Huang Zhicheng, vice president of a certain PLA aviation school

I thank the China Aeronautics Society for its kind invitation to me. Present here are elders, experts, students, professors, and well-known figures of the aeronautical world. To take part in this meeting is a very good learning opportunity for me. Although I was in Taiwan's air force and was engaged in aeronautical undertakings for over 10 years, my past major experience and time was spent in flying. I am extremely deficient in academic research and exploration, and I should learn from all of you. I have been back on the mainland for over 2 months. In Beijing I visited an engineering thermophysics research institute, and in the northeast I visited an aircraft factory. This morning I also visited the Beijing Aeronautical School. All of these are units related to aviation. Although I only gained a superficial understanding of them through cursory observation, I was led to feel that the motherland's government pays a great deal of attention to aeronautical undertakings and has also achieved successes in them. For example, at the aviation factory that I visited in the northeast, the new-type fighter planes produced by the factory are magnificent and powerful. It manufactures the aircraft with its own materials. Looking at these aircraft, I was amazed. Although slightly backward in comparison with the aircraft produced by the aviation industries in the advanced countries of Europe and in America, when I stood before the aircraft produced by our own country I felt a sense of superiority and a sense of pride in being a Chinese. When I was a student I read Dr Sun Yat-sen's outline of national reconstruction. In describing the blueprint for the motherland's construction, he brought up the development of aviation. Under the historical conditions at that time, Sun Yat-sen's ideal could not be realized. Today I see that the CCP has carried out Dr Sun Yat-sen's behests on the mainland of the motherland.

The Taiwan authorities also pay much attention to the development of aviation. On Taiwan there is an aviation industrial center that develops and manufactures airplanes. The Taiwan authorities have declared time and again that they developed and manufacture the F-5E aircraft together with the United States, but in reality all aircraft produced by Taiwan are fitted out on Taiwan with U.S. parts. Therefore, the instructions for installing, using, as well as arranging in the cockpit are all written in English, and only on the exterior of these planes is the Chinese language used. Everybody knows that in these past years Taiwan has developed its economy, science and technology comparatively rapidly, so why during these many years has it not produced its own aircraft? I feel that the fundamental reason is that Taiwan lacks natural resources and must depend on foreign countries for them. But the mainland of the motherland has abundant natural resources and a self-reliant spirit, and it makes a point of assimilating advanced technology from abroad. I gained this impression after visiting the Beijing Aeronautical School. The fundamental problem in the development of Taiwan's aeronautical undertakings will not be solved until the motherland is reunified. On the eve of National Day this year, Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying issued a statement in which he proposed a nine-point policy for Taiwan's reversion to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification. On 9 October, I had the good fortune to take part in the rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Chairman Hu of the CCP Central Committee

made an important speech at the rally concerning the peaceful solution of the Taiwan question, in which he invited Chiang Ching-kuo and prominent figures in Taiwan's party and government circles to come to the mainland and look around. The statement and speech by Standing Committee Chairman Ye and Chairman Hu were earnest, fair and reasonable, and both fully embodied the aspirations of the people in the two places and fully accorded with the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country and the people on Taiwan. There are some people on Taiwan who have patriotic feelings and a sense of justice, and they should not again stop in their tracks and not go forward. Over 90 percent of the compatriots on Taiwan greatly desire to go to the mainland. But they worry that if they return to the mainland, their standard of living will drop. This is because the Taiwan authorities daily put out the propaganda that the mainland is poor, life there is hard, and ration tickets are required for everything. Therefore, we must, in line with what Vice Chairman Deng has said, get everybody to work in a down-to-earth manner to improve the standard of living of the people on the mainland. Doing this will have a great attraction for Taiwan and will have an influence on the great cause of reunification. I want to contribute my strength to the development of the motherland's aeronautical undertakings and to the great cause of realizing soon the reunification of the motherland.

Editor's note: At this forum, representatives of our country's civil aviation, higher education, and air sports made speeches in which they discussed developments since the founding of the state in these fields. This periodical will publish these speeches in succession for the edification of its readers.

9727

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GLAMOR AND LOVE THEME IN MOVIES REPUDIATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Liang Heng [2733 5899]: "The Silver Screen Is Too Gaudy"]

[Text] Some people have made this criticism of our present-day motion pictures: The colors have become more and more gaudy, and the characterizations more and more insipid. There is some truth to this criticism.

To my mind, the word gaudy can be interpreted in two ways. One refers to the gorgeous colors of the scenery. Compared with the 1950's and 1960's, the screen today is dominated by a sumptuous atmosphere created by dazzling colors. The actresses, needless to say, are all great beauties, the costumes are like a fashion show, and the homes are like guesthouses and hotels. Then there are the overflowing wine and the dancing couples. The scenes are filled with all that is luxurious, regardless of plots and time periods, as if this is the only way to portray modernization. Is the scenery beautiful? Yes, but it is divorced from life, becoming false beauty. Form should always be subject to content. Only inferior artists without the caliber to portray ideological content in depth will fall back on tricks of form, covering up pallid works with thick and gaudy makeup. Compared with the other forms of art, motion pictures rely even more on visual images, and modern science and technology have provided ever newer means of film production. These are all advantages. But the advantages should be utilized only to portray profound ideological content. Overly made-up natural beauty will only damage the beauty. Heavy makeup over what is naturally ugly will only accentuate the ugliness. Like the writings of the Six Dynasties [Wu, Eastern Jin, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen, lasting from the third to the sixth centuries AD, all noted for their sophisticated culture], "page after pages contain nothing but descriptions of the moon and the dew; pile after pile of paper show nothing but depictions of the wind and the snow." As during the late Tang Dynasty and the [ensuing] Five Dynasties, "poetry is all about sentimental love," filled with "silky elegance and fleshy fragrance," nothing but love and sentimentality. There have been many lessons in the history of literature about literary work's failing to make the grade because of the lopsided pursuit of gaudy language. Let us hope our young cinematic artists will draw lessons from our ancient history of literature and art and not enter this blind alley.

Another interpretation refers to the fad of writing romantic histories and incidents of personalities. Underground workers are invariably portrayed as flirting and dancing with other people's concubines. Soldiers are involved in love affairs in the midst of raging battles. When portraying friendship between China and Japan, there are

Inevitably a Chinese husband and a Japanese wife. We see more and more female commanders, female secretaries, female capitalists, and female executives, and modernized sons and daughters of influential families. Even when commemorating the 1911 Revolution and such veteran revolutionaries of great distinction as Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing, because of a lack of romantic affairs the plays can only center around Xiao Feng Xian. There is nothing wrong with these stories in themselves, but when only stories of this kind are portrayed, the audience will then have reason to ask what the inclinations of the writers and directors are. Can it be that a many-splendored life can be reflected only in the drop of water called love (some are not even love)? To put it baldly, this is a kind of tendency which constitutes a pursuit of stimulation. The careful selection of material and its re-creation fill the need of certain scenes on the screen. It is the beginning of the end when motion pictures do not try to arouse and mold the fine sentiments of the audience but try to stimulate their visual sense and their psychology.

One film worker puts it well: The [purpose of] motion pictures is to enable the audience to see intangible things--ideals, willpower, moral sentiments--through tangible things on the screen. What can the audience observe through sentimental love stories and gaudy scenes? Only decadence, passivity, vulgarity, and false pretense. No wonder it has been a long time since we have seen heroes like Dong Cunrui, Wang Cheng, and Xu Yunfeng on the screen. How can personalities like these appear in scenes thick with rouge and powder? People can be moved to tears by even the black-and-white pictures of the 1950's, while they often do not know whether to laugh or cry over many of the color pictures of the 1980's.

Motion pictures, return to the true and the unadorned!

9856

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POET'S SELF-CRITICISM PROMPTED BY READERS' LETTERS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 81 p 4

[Report by Xinhua New Agency reporter Wang Wenjun [3769 2429 0193] from Chengdu, 9 November: "Author Comrade Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513] Accepts Readers' Criticisms and Examines the Mistakes in His Works"]

[Text] The publication of the long poem "A Specter Is Roaming the Land of China" in a magazine aroused a strong reaction in society. Readers wrote in to point out that this was a work with serious political mistakes. At a recent ideological front forum in Sichuan Province, author Sun Jingxuan sincerely accepted the readers' views and made a serious and earnest self-criticism.

Sun Jingxuan said that as a writer educated and nurtured by the party over a long period of time, he felt much ashamed and deeply pained to have written a work that harmed the interests of the party, the people, and the socialist cause. The chief mistakes in the poem, he said, were that it ran counter to the four basic principles and that it spread and echoed the tendency of bourgeois liberalization that exists among a small number of people in society--a tendency that departs from the socialist orbit and breaks away from the party's leadership, thus creating extremely bad effects.

Sun Jingxuan said that his purpose in writing the poem was to castigate and expose the remnants of feudal thinking, but because of his wrong stand and viewpoint and the wrong methods he used in viewing issues, he obscured the demarcation line on questions of principle, deviated from his own original target, and brought harm to the socialist system and to the image of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong. It was not accident that he produced a work with these mistakes, he said. There were several factors: 1) He had been wronged in years past and had not adopted a correct attitude toward this matter, so that when he began writing he tended to go to extremes and give vent to his grievances. One should view the twists and turns in one's life against all of history and society, and should never let one's personal grievances make him lose sight of the situation as a whole. This was a bitter lesson; 2) He took a mistaken attitude toward the basic principle that proletarian literature and art must serve socialism and the people, and he did not pay attention to studying Marxist theory and the party's principles and policies; 3) He thought too highly of himself, was wildly conceited, and had his mind set on astounding the world with a single brilliant coup; 4) The most important thing was that in the past few years he had become very much divorced from the masses and reality. In the past few years, he said, I had spent a life divorced from reality and the masses, "isolating myself from the others," so that I did not experience the vigorous enthusiasm of the masses

of the people for working for the four modernizations, did not see that society was advancing, and saw only the negative and gloomy side of life. I suffered from what people called "depression of the spirit." This poem was written in that state of mind. The way to correct his mistakes, he said, was to go among the workers, peasants, and soldiers and remold his thoughts and feelings.

Participants at the forum welcomed Comrade Sun Jingxuan's words. They believed that Comrade Sun Jingxuan was sincere in his attitude, that his analysis of the reasons for his erroneous work was realistic and to the point, and that other literary and art workers would benefit from his self-criticism.

To help Comrade Sun Jingxuan raise his level of understanding, responsible comrades in the Sichuan provincial party committee and the Sichuan provincial federation of literary and art circles had many heart-to-heart talks with him in which they pointed out the serious nature of his mistakes, analyzed the causes of the mistakes, and encouraged him to go forward. They also created conditions for Sun Jingxuan to go to the grassroots and come into contact with the masses so as to help bring about a transformation in his thoughts and feelings. The provincial party committee pointed out in particular that allowances could be made when a person who made mistakes was unable to recognize them for a short while. It would be necessary to help him and give him time and a chance to recognize and correct his mistakes. This method of insisting on principles, paying attention to methods, and uniting with the comrades has reaped good results and has been universally praised.

Speaking to this reporter not long ago, Sun Jingxuan said that at first he felt antagonistic toward the criticisms, but that when he recognized there were indeed mistakes in his poem, he felt he was under great pressure. He felt depressed and resigned himself to being repudiated. He was much moved by the gentle-breeze-and-mild-rain manner of help given him by the leaders of the provincial party committee and comrades in the literary and art circles, by the sincere and frank talks, and by the patient waiting. He said: "The party and the fraternal love of the comrades. I will correct my mistakes through action so as to undo the bad influence that I created."

9856

CSO: 4005/265

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CULTURAL LEADERS URGED TO STRENGTHEN CONTROL

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Chun Shan [2504 1472]: "Dare To Lead and To Be Good at Leading"]

[Text] Proletarian literature and art are an important part of the party's cause. Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching that "proletarian literature and art are part of the entire cause of proletarian revolution" points out clearly the tasks and orientation of the leading departments of literature and art, and these are to persevere in the direction of making literature and art serve the people and socialism, actively implement the principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred of schools of thought contend, weed out the old to bring forth the new and use socialist literature and art to mold the people's thoughts and feelings, remold socialist morality and mores, enrich the people's spiritual life, and build a socialist spiritual civilization.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the achievements on the cultural and artistic front in our province have been notable, and the mainstream has been positive. It should also be noted, however, that the influence of leftist thinking impeding the development of literature and art has not been entirely cleared away, while the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization is still encroaching on literary and art circles. Our leading departments of literature and art must rise with force and spirit, dare to lead and to be good at leading, and advance the cause of literature and art.

Leadership in literature and art has on the whole been clearheaded, but some slackness and feebleness still exist. For instance, the leadership does not dare carry out serious criticism and necessary struggle against erroneous speeches, works, and deeds that run counter to the four basic principles and depart from the orbit of socialism and the party's leadership. It does not dare support and publish correct criticism of literature and art. It takes a noninterfering attitude with regard to the tendency toward liberalization in creative writing and in the performing arts. Effective measures should be taken to change this situation. The documents compiled from the party's forum on problems on the ideological front analyzed the situation on the literary and artistic front, and stated that the most effective way to overcome slackness and feebleness in ideological leadership is to carry out necessary ideological struggles and correct criticism and self-criticism. To develop the party's cause in literature and art, to make literary and artistic work truly contribute to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, we must earnestly implement

the spirit of the forum with regard to problems on the ideological front and actively overcome slackness and feebleness, so as to effectively promote literature and art.

Leading departments of literature and art should both dare to lead and be good at leading. They should first of all strengthen the study and research of Marxist theories on literature and art and Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art; strengthen the study of the party's line, principles, and policies; and continuously raise the ideological level and the art of leadership. At the same time, they should strengthen investigation and research, regularly go to the grassroots and observe the social effects of literature and art, keep abreast of the ideological trends in literary and art circles, and strengthen policy study and guidance, so as to identify problems and solve them effectively. Secondly, they should strengthen the examination and approval process regarding works to be published and performances to be staged. They should organize earnest discussions of works that have serious mistakes and controversial works, do everything they can to help writers raise their ideological and artistic level, and make the utmost efforts to revise the works until they are satisfactory. Of course, on this question they should also avoid simplification and crude interference. Thirdly, they should strengthen criticism of literature and art. Literature and art can move forward only when there is criticism. They should be adept at using criticism of literature and art as a weapon and should pay attention to the methods of criticism. Criticism of literature and art should be practical and realistic, appropriate and balanced, and should not demand perfection. They should, through criticism of literature and art, be good at distinguishing right from wrong and continuously raise the level of literary and artistic activities. Fourthly, they should pay special attention to raising the ideological level and strengthening the organization of the literary and artistic contingent, taking care to nurture and develop a contingent containing both professional and amateur writers and artists.

Literature and art are directly related to the cultural life of hundreds of millions of people and are the concern of the entire society. As the people's material life and cultural life improve, literary and artistic activities should keep right up with them. We must effectively strengthen leadership over literary and artistic activities, and actively encourage writers and artists to go into the thick of life, remold their world outlook, find new themes in life, and work hard to portray the new life, new ideas, and new people of the new socialist period, so as to inspire the people to vigorously develop the Chinese nation and build a strong and modern socialist country.

9856

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DEFINITION OF LITERARY TRUTHFULNESS QUALIFIED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Xin Ming [6580 7686]: "On Truthfulness in Literature"]

[Text] Comrade Li Jian said in a recent article: "If the life portrayed in works is truthful, then we should be convinced that they have vitality." This raises a question: How should we understand truthfulness in literature? What role should truthfulness play in the criticism of literature and art?

Marxist theories on literature and art tell us that all literature draws its source from life in society. Literary works will move, educate, and be of value only when the life scenes they portray are real, vivid, and true to life. This has been borne out forcefully by the appearance of a large number of fine works in the past few years as the "gang of four's" practice of deception in literature was swept away. But the truthfulness we are speaking of is artistic truthfulness, which is not the exact equivalent of real-life truthfulness. If we do not analyze real life and make selections, but simply copy real life, we are bound to slip into the mudpit of naturalism. That is to say, not all things in real life should be described in literary works. Lu Xun said, "There are people in this world who really should not be portrayed in novels. If we write about these people and portray them truthfully, the novel will be destroyed. Take a painter. He may paint snakes, crocodiles, tortoises, nutshells, wastebaskets, or garbage heaps. But no painter will paint worms, skin boils, snivel, or excrement. The idea is the same." Li Jian may insist repeatedly that he is "faithful to life," "respects history," and is "truthful to details." Yet, in the short stories "Intoxicated, He Enters the Myriad Flowers" and "Girls' Bridge," there are detailed descriptions of how Ye Li loses her virginity under the guidance of Chairman Mao's quotations, "As soon as the 10 young women crawled past the bridgehead, their pants fell down." "They stood facing east, not one of them pulling up her pants." These ugly, obscene, and vulgar descriptions are all in the category of "worms." They are incidental and nonessential things and should not appear in our literary works.

Truthfulness is vital to the arts. But it is equally harmful to raise literary and artistic truthfulness to an unsuitable position, to make it the sole yardstick measuring creative works, while overlooking the trend and aesthetic role of the works. Just as Dobrolyubov said: "Truthfulness is a necessary condition to but not the value of a literary work. Speaking of value, we should judge it by the breadth of the writer's views, whether or not he has correctly understood the phenomena he comes into contact with, whether or not his portrayal is vividly done." Art should be

not only truthful but good and beautiful. We demand that a literary work should achieve a dialectical unity of the cognizant, educational and esthetic significance, a dialectical unity of truth, goodness, and beauty. Faced with the realities of society in all its kaleidoscopic colors, one must take the stand of the masses of the people and analyze by means of Marxist scientific methods before he can eliminate the false and retain the true, discard the dross and select the essential, and create typical characters in typical environments. Otherwise, one can only act in a way that defeats one's purpose. Li Jian said that because "Lin Biao and the 'gan of four' dismembered and distorted Mao Zedong Thought and, in the midst of modern superstition and ultraleft tendencies, brewed tons and tons of bitter wine that submerged the land of China," it is therefore necessary to "expose the ultraleft tendencies" and "criticize and repudiate those times." But to do as he has done--to link Comrade Mao Zedong's many correct sayings with such acts as carnal lust, to blame the deaths resulting from the effort to "create land by blocking the sea" entirely on Mao Zedong Thought--is contrary to the four basic principles, and we absolutely cannot allow it. These vulgar descriptions are neither good nor beautiful. They can neither expose ultraleft tendencies nor arouse the people's noble spirit and encourage them to fight against evil forces. Social effects have proved this point.

I hope Comrade Li Jian will correctly sum up his experiences and lessons in writing, not vacillate, and write good works of value that are beneficial to the revolution and the people.

9856

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GOVERN BY NONINTERFERENCE' IN LITERATURE, ART CRITICIZED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Yi Mu [0076 2606] and Wan Shui [8001 3055]: "Evaluate 'Govern by Noninterference' Literature"]

[Text] It has been 32 years since the founding of the nation and people of all nationalities throughout the country, led by our party, have accomplished a great deal in socialist revolution and reconstruction. Leadership has also been provided for work in the literary and artistic fields. This has been manifested not only in the emerging of a great number of fine literary works, but also in training a large number of writers and gaining abundant experiences. Certainly, our party has made some errors while providing leadership for literary and artistic work. One error, for example, is calling some literary and artistic workers rightists on the basis of a single piece of work, or an article, or even a single sentence, causing them to suffer devastation and losses both mentally and materially. No doubt, these errors are serious; we should draw a lesson from them. Nevertheless, the party has by and large accomplished a lot in providing leadership for literature and art. As long as it seriously summarizes experience and teaching, it will certainly provide better leadership for literary and artistic work in the uninterrupted growth and progress. Facts have proved that after the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly after the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, our party has provided effective leadership for every kind of work, including literary and artistic work, advancing triumphantly.

However, some comrades, for example, Comrade Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598], did not think this way. He thinks that leadership provided for literature and art by the party is an "unnecessary move." Even today, in Wang's thinking, the fields of literature and art suffer from "willful interference" imposed by "ring upon ring of bosses." Because of this, Wang stated, "Decent plays are always strangled in the cradle." What can be done? Comrade Wang made out a prescription: "noninterference." In September 1979, Comrade Wang Ruowang published an article in RED FLAG entitled "On 'Govern by Noninterference' Literature and Art." He gave a systematic exposition of his position. He stated, "Looking from the rise and decline of literature and art, whenever people on top practiced "non-interference," every literary and artistic worker then was able to freely achieve great success. This is the dialectics of developing one's ability to the full and govern by noninterference."

The term "govern by noninterference" originated from the Book of Laozi. Through history there have been different evaluations and interpretations on Laozi and his thinking. Therefore, evaluations and interpretations on his "govern by noninterference" have been divided. It can be interpreted as doing nothing ("Do nothing. Say nothing.") and let it run its course. It can also be interpreted as being indifferent toward everything and trying not to think about it after doing something ("Not to presume one's merits after doing something."). It can further be interpreted as doing nothing is doing everything. Noninterference can help everything develop well ("Noninterference can help everything develop well ("Noninterference can make everything go."), etc. However, the question today is not how we interpret literally; rather, specifically what will this term imply when we quote it. In order to prove his point, Comrade Wang Ruowang quoted a sentence from Comrade Chen Yi's speech at the Guangzhou Meeting in 1962. Wrote Comrade Wang Ruowang, "In fact, at the Guangzhou Meeting of 1962, Comrade Chen Yi brought up the idea of 'govern by noninterference.' Many things could be governed by noninterference. If one tries to provide leadership for everything, things may go astray. Some may be better off without leadership. We should know that some leadership may lead to success, some may lead to failure. If we are sure that we can lead to success, then we can provide leadership. If not, we should not try to lead; let the experienced take care of things. We ourselves can 'sit idle and enjoy the fruits of others.' What foresight! How well said!" The reason Comrade Wang quoted this sentence was to tell people that Comrade Chen Yi was the first person since the founding of the PRC to promote "govern by noninterference" literature.

But, if we analyze Comrade Chen Yi's sentence more carefully, we can easily find out: first, he meant that those who really don't understand and could lead "things" "astray" should not try to lead. This refers to some individuals or a small number of people, not every level of authority or the party. Secondly, he believed that "If we are sure that we can lead to success, then we can provide leadership" indicated that leadership is still necessary. Thirdly, Comrade Chen Yi made this statement under special circumstances. We should not regard his statement as "universally applicable," nor should we think that he did not carefully think things out when he made this statement.

In fact, Comrade Wang Ruowang had this obvious intention when he quoted the term "govern by noninterference." In the summer of 1979, 1 month before (or at the same time) publication of his "On 'Govern by Noninterference' Literature" in RED FLAG, at a short-story creation workshop jointly sponsored by the Shanghai Culture Palace and the editorial department of "Shanghai Literature," Comrade Wang Ruowang summarized: "Since 1957 it has been palace literature which is characterized by its nonvitality. Recently I wrote an article on noninterference literature. That is to say, let the leaders sleep and do not interfere with literature and art. Literature and art will prosper without interference. Literature and art always have flourishing periods in all periods and in all countries." "The 1930's was a period of prosperity which was not created through the government's interference. There were numerous periodicals and writers."

The speech was along the same line with his article published later in RED FLAG. It was a footnote to his article. The article was polished, its theme very clear. The theme was that the party should not govern literature and art and

let literature and art develop freely. Wrote Comrade Wang Ruowang, "There are periods of prosperity in literary and artistic creation in all periods and in all countries. These are not accomplished through the harsh interference and detailed regulations of the leading organs of the stage. The intention of countries under the leadership of the proletariat to emphasize leadership over literature and art and care for their writers, is good. However, sometimes we don't understand the artistic characteristics and give arbitrary and impractical directions, adapting methods of leadership for industrial production to literature and art." Here, the polished writing is much more "thoughtful" than his speech. "Do not interfere. Let the leaders sleep. It will prosper without interference." Simply and straightforwardly said. As for his position of not relying on the "harsh interference and detailed regulations imposed by the leading organs of the state, 'Who can say it's wrong?'" Furthermore, our party "does not understand the artistic characteristics" and often "gives arbitrary and impractical directions." The logical conclusion is naturally his "govern by noninterference," or as he put it, "Do not interfere, let the leaders sleep." When the party Central Committee repeatedly emphasized overcoming the tendency of capitalist liberalization and moreover pointed out that this tendency was expressed mainly in its effort to break away from party leadership, Comrade Wang Ruowang repeatedly explained that his "govern by noninterference" meant "govern by interference" and that he didn't mean to break away from party leadership; in fact, he earnestly needed party leadership. He even quoted from the dictionary "Ci Hai" as proof. But the interpretation from "Ci Hai" and that of Comrade Wang Ruowang are not the same. No matter how the "Ci Hai" interprets, it cannot refute what he wrote in his article and what he said in public. Therefore, his explanation is useless.

The fact that Comrade Wang Ruowang advocated "govern by noninterference" literature and that the party should not interfere with literature is by no means an isolated incident. Rather, it represents a social ideological trend. There was a time when some literary and artistic workers expressed their dissatisfaction with the party leadership. The most typical example was when they read the editor's note of RENMIN RIBAO to the effect that "the party should improve its leadership for literary and artistic work and, through improvement, strengthen its leadership," they were very worried and said, "As soon as the phrase 'strengthen the party's leadership' is heard, one will have an uncontrollable fear." What is worth pondering is that after this comment was printed in the paper, to our surprise, some people said, "This comment should be written down in golden characters." A certain responsible person in the literary and artistic fields also thought that "govern by noninterference" could make literature and art prosperous. If we compare Comrade Wang Ruowang's theory of not having the party lead literature and art and the ideological trend of that time, we can clearly see that his theory is the expression of breaking literature and art away from the party's leadership. It's definitely not what he said: "It is the dialectics of developing one's ability to the full through noninterference."

Freedom Had Its Limit

The party's leadership of literature and art is not something that one can demand or refuse as one pleases. It is an objective requirement of socialist literature and art. In his article entitled "The Party's Organization and the Party's Literature," Lenin said, "Literature ought to be the party's literature."

He also said, "Literary undertakings should be part of the total undertaking of the proletarian class. It should be a great set of synchronized gears and screws of the social democratic machinery propelled by the vanguard of the entire working class with total consciousness. Literary undertaking should be an organized, planned, and unified component of social democratic work." Since literature is a component of the party's work, it should, like other undertakings of the party, serve the people, serve socialism, and serve the general good of the party in a given historical period. To accomplish these, the party must arm the writers' minds with the ever developing literary theory of the socialist and the party's lines, principles, and policies. The party should also care for the writers and help them advance along the correct road.

However, Comrade Wang Ruowang tried to break literature and art away from the party's leadership. For this, he created many reasons. One was that the party "interferes with literary and artistic work too much (or 'brutal interference') and provides too much trifling supervision."

Any issue should be analyzed concretely. We must admit that our party did make mistakes in providing leadership for literary and artistic work. For example, due to the leftist influence, our party emphasized "taking class struggle as the key link" and excessively emphasized that literature and art should coordinate with the political mission. Some leading personnel evaluated works based on personal preference and some interfered with literary and artistic work violently, etc. On the other hand, we must not be inflexible in regard to the issue. We should not stand still on facts from the past, or refute today's work because of past errors the party made. After the 3d plenum, under the leadership of the Central Committee, an entirely new aspect prevails in every item of work, including literary and artistic work. Despite the fact that there are still errors and defects in our work, they are different in principle and in nature from the past. There are new developments and the party's leadership of literary and artistic work and policies on intellectuals are continuously improving. In treating the intellectuals and handling literary and artistic problems, leading comrades of the central authorities are very prudent. In a symposium on drama held in the spring of 1980, Comrade Yaobang [5069 6721] handled the play "The Crooks" with an attitude of fair discussion and carried on persuasion and education with all sincerity and eagerness. This method of providing leadership for literature and art became a good model for the entire party. Even in criticizing the play "Unrequited Love," which has serious errors, the central authorities repeatedly emphasized using persuasion, education, and research methods instead of starting a movement or attacking from all sides. All along, the party maintained an attitude of criticism and education toward Comrade Bai Hua [4101 2901] himself. It is evident that the leadership provided by the central authorities for literary and artistic work has been appropriate. As for each department in each area, despite different situations, by and large, there has been improvement. Most of the leading comrades are reasonable. The crude behavior demonstrated by a few leading comrades in handling individual cases is under control. On the contrary, not too long ago, party organizations in some areas and in some units had shown weak leadership for a long period of time. They were not willing to touch or handle problems in literary and artistic work for fear of being criticized as "bludgeoning" or "labelling." Therefore, they were overly cautious. Even so, the party was criticized for "interfering violently" with literature and art.

Using this as an excuse, workers in the literary and artistic fields tried to break away from the party's leadership. This was, from any viewpoint, unjustifiable.

To break away from the party's leadership was to obtain so-called "freedom of creation." Because of this, many comrades, taking great pains, quoted what Lenin said in his "The Party's Organizations and Its Literature." He said, "Each person can freely, without any restraint, write what he wishes to write and say what he wishes to say." Using this to prove "freedom of creation" is perfectly justified, they demanded that the party not "interfere." But, if we read the entire text, we will find out that Lenin did not emphasize "freedom of creation" so much as party spirit. In the same article, he said clearly and firmly, "Each free organization (including parties) can also expel those who advocate an anti-party viewpoint under the signboard of the party. There should be freedom of speech and freedom of press. But there should be freedom of association also. For freedom of speech, I should give you all the right to shout, lie, and write as you please. But, for freedom of association, you must give me the right to associate with or dissociate from those who talk about this and talk about that." Lenin clearly told us, "the party is a voluntary ally. If it does not clean up those party members who propagate an anti-party viewpoint, it will inevitably collapse; collapse ideologically first, then materially collapse."

Some people emphasized freedom to an improper degree. After having full freedom, they still "strived" for more than the Communist Party. We must know, in this world, there has never been, nor will there ever be "freedom" without limitation. People live on the earth. It was impossible for us to be free of the earth's gravity when science was not well developed. Science is well developed today. Even if we can leave the earth, there are many restrictions. Hegel had a famous proposition, "Freedom is the understanding of necessity." He said: Freedom does not lie in one's illusion to be independent of natural laws, rather, it lies in the understanding of those laws. The less the people understand the laws of society and nature, the more restrictions they will receive and the less freedom they will enjoy. On the contrary, the more thoroughly they understand, the more fully they can apply objective conditions and the more freedom they will enjoy. People living in a certain society will inevitably be restricted by their social, political, and economic conditions; it is impossible for them to enjoy absolute freedom. Some people think that capitalism enjoys "freedom," people can write whatever they want to and how they want to. They are either biased or ignorant. Read what Lenin said, "Can you break away and be free from the capitalist readers and audience who ask you to write fiction propagandizing sex and draw pictures depicting prostitution in order to 'enrich' the art of the 'grotesque' stage? We should know that absolute freedom is nothing but empty talk of the capitalist or the anarchist. (In the sense of the world outlook, anarchism is capitalism in a disguised form.) It is impossible for us to break away and be free from the society in which we live." What Lenin said has a sobering effect on those who are enthusiastic about absolute "freedom."

What's Important Is Correct Position, Viewpoint, and Methods

There is always the question of position, viewpoint and methods about everything. If there is a difference in position, the same thing may have different conclusions. In order to break away from the party's leadership, Comrade Wang Ruowang

said that "there are not many" leaders in the party who "really understand how to 'emphasize' key point leadership" in literature and art, and "often they provide arbitrary directions which violate the literary rules," and therefore, "art and literature should be excused from the party's leadership."

We must admit that, there are too few cadres in the party who understand the high standard, leadership required for leading literature and art. Moreover, there was a long period of time in the past when errors were made by "arbitrary leadership." However, "to be excused" from the party's leadership because of those mistakes is rather biased. "Arbitrary directions" should be corrected; the more thorough the better. But, looking at today's actual situations, some so-called "arbitrary directions," or the standard of whether "emphasis" is placed on correct "key points" or not, may be different. In the spring of 1979, because some people had a liberalization tendency, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed the four basic principles and requested that the party, the army, and all nationalities. The vast majority of the masses approved his reaffirmation and resolutely supported it. This should be considered proper "directions." But, weren't there still people who said the "four principles" were "four sticks" used to restrict and suppress the enthusiasm and creative spirit of the writers? At the symposium on plays held in the spring of 1980, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] properly handled the play called "The Crooks." Many people were touched by Comrade Hu's patient persuasive work. It should be said that the party placed emphasis on the key point. On the other hand, some people considered this as a precedent for imposing a ban on dramas in a disguised form. Therefore, to solve the problem of leadership over literature and art, we believe we should solve the problem of the party's courage and the party's know-how to provide leadership. At the same time, we must also solve the problems of some comrades' position, viewpoints, and methods. Without solving these problems, without a common language, literature and art cannot be aligned with the policies of the central authorities.

Comrade Wang Ruowang said, "'Govern by noninterference' did not mean to abolish the party's leadership, rather to thoroughly change the style of the party's leadership." But, after our study of their speeches, we cannot but bring up this question: Since party leadership is needed, why did he say: "let the leaders sleep?" Why did he think the party imposed "too much interferences and too much control" over literary and artistic work and that the party is always in the way? It seems that his few words on needing party leadership cannot cover up the many speeches and writings he made to shake off the party's leadership. Marxist dialectics tells us that, in observing things, one should not look only at the superficial phenomenon. It only points out the direction. As soon as the direction is pointed out, the essence should be grasped. This dialectic differs from that of Comrade Wang Ruowang in its nature. Because of Marxist dialectics, people will not lose their direction. This is the enlightenment we gained from the study of Comrade Wang Ruowang's "dialectics."

8953

CSO: 4005/257

LITERARY WORKS REFLECTING CHANGES IN COUNTRYSIDE ADVOCATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 81 p 1

[Article: "Make a Great Effort To Create Literary Works That Reflect the Changes That Have Occurred in the Countryside During Our New Era"]

[Text] The comrades who took part in the academic symposium on the "Annals of the Pioneer Work" and the creation of literary works having themes relating to the countryside recently held in Xian consider that the novel "Annals of the Pioneer Work" by the late author Liu Qing, in that it incisively reflected the course of the changes in Chinese peasants' ideology and psychology during the initial period of socialist revolution and construction, portrayed a classical example of such a modern-day peasant as Liang Shengbao, and unfolded the glorious picture of the period in which Chinese individual farming developed in the direction of cooperative transformation, is a work akin to a volume of historical poems. Liu Qing's life, and the course his creativity took, should be studied by the present generation of authors. Today, the countryside in our country is in the midst of a new historical period of great transformations, and there is a need for more authors to go into the countryside and create literary works that reflect the changes taking place in our new age.

Everyone at the symposium looked back upon Liu Qing's moving accomplishments in going deeply into life: how, as early as the period of the war of resistance against Japan, after the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Speeches Given at the Forum on Literature and Art at Yanan," Liu Qing immediately went to the countryside of Mizhi County in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, for almost 3 years occupied the post of copy clerk in the government of the township, and wrote the excellent long novel "Record of Planting the Valley." Not long after the founding of the new China, he again resolutely left the capital of Beijing, and came and settled down in Huangfu village, Changan County, Shaanxi, also taking up the post of deputy secretary of that county's party committee, leading the peasants in the movement towards mutual aid and cooperation. The author lived there for 14 years, established extremely good rapport with the peasants there, and so it was that "Annals of the Pioneer Work" was born. The author Du Pengcheng said at the symposium that Liu Qing, in pursuing his creativity, did not care how much difficulty he had to go through, but from beginning to end was steadfast in the principle of going deeply among the peasants. What Liu Qing persevered in is precisely the most precious tradition in the literature of our country's revolution, and is the fundamental cause of the success of "Annals of the Pioneer Work."

The literary critic Feng Jiannan said that the masses of Huangfu village love and respect Liu Qing, and cherish his memory, not at all because he was an author, and wrote books, but because he was a good cadre who shared the bitter and the better with everyone, a good party member, and a good friend.

This symposium was sponsored jointly by the Xian branch of the Chinese Authors' Association, Xibei University, Shaanxi Normal University, the Shaanxi Modern Literature Society, and the literary monthly "Yan He."

9634

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LU XUN CITED AS MODEL OF INDIFFERENCE TO PRAISE, BLAME

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Zhi [0111 0037]: "Criticism and Flattery"]

[Text] In the field of literature and art, it should be a perfectly natural thing to conduct criticism and self-criticism regarding erroneous tendencies in creative works. But in the last few years, it seems that no criticism should be directed at erroneous tendencies at all. Criticism of any kind is called "hitting with a stick." This is an extremely abnormal phenomenon.

Indeed, there is a type of person who thinks he is always right, who thinks himself to be something extraordinary, and who often regards himself as representing all that is correct. He claims that he understands soldiers more than anybody else does and that he knows more about workers than anybody else does, boasting that he is an accomplished writer specializing in this or that. And since he is already an "accomplished" writer, the slightest negative criticism of his works would make him hit the ceiling. He would say you are "jealous" of him, or that you are "obsessed with splitting hairs." Stern in voice and countenance and out to kill, he would strike at his critic with the "stick" of "do not hit with a stick," attacking from all sides. This type of person is against correct criticism. He favors criticizing those who advocate correct criticism, and he suits his words to his deeds. Quite understandably, people believe that this kind of person has ulterior motives.

On the contrary, some people resent criticism but are more than happy to accept unprincipled flattery.

They gladly accept all the superlatives. Especially after they have been criticized for their erroneous tendencies, they regard those who write to them expressing support and flattery as expressing "sympathy" and "love." This is even more dangerous. Shouldn't we make a serious analysis to find out just who are writing the letters of flattery and supporting what is wrong, and find out just what their motives are? We would do well to learn from Lu Xun, to learn his principled attitude of insisting on correct stands and being indifferent to praise or blame. Forty-five years ago, in an attempt to sow discord between Lu Xun and the party, a Trotskyite under the pseudonym of Chen Zhongshan wrote to Lu Xun flattering him and at the same time shamelessly attacking the party's policy of an anti-Japanese national united front. Lu Xun not only was not swayed by his flattery but resolutely struck back and mercilessly exposed him. Lu Xun pointed out that the Trotskyite's superb "theories" "are exactly what the Japanese aggressors would welcome," and will even "fall on the

dirtiest places on the ground." He denounced them, saying: "What they are doing runs counter to the Chinese people's moral principles regarding human behavior." As for the Chinese Communists represented by Chairman Mao, he said: "I consider it an honor to be able to regard as my comrades those who, with their feet on the ground, truly wage a sanguinary fight for the existence of the Chinese people today." What clear-cut love and hatred! What a resolute stand! Learning from Lu Xun will give us a clear head and a firm stand.

Of course, we must choose the appropriate methods of criticism and conduct criticism properly. But we must not refrain from serious criticism of and necessary struggle against all kinds of erroneous tendencies.

Criticism and flattery are actually two opposites. To conduct correct criticism, we must watch out for unprincipled flattery. To correct erroneous tendencies, we must conduct correct and not distorted, earnest and not perfunctory, criticism and self-criticism. This is so we can achieve new unity on new foundations. To do this we must insist on principle, insist on the four basic principles, which the Party Central Committee has reiterated many times and which it again reiterated at the Sixth Plenary Session.

9856

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF PROPER PRACTICES IN EDITORIAL WORK STRESSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Shan Mu [2619 2606]: "Happy To Make Wedding Clothes for Others"]

[Text] There is a piece of literary reportage by Comrade Chen Zufen [7115 4371 5358] entitled "As We Were Praising the Roses," the subject of which is the moving accomplishments of Comrade Yan Ming [2518 2494], the old editor of the literary collection "November." This old editor was originally adept at writing poems, and at literary creation, and was entirely capable of becoming a poet or author. Afterwards, however, the party required him to do literary editing, and he resolutely obeyed the party's need, and painstakingly edited and published articles for several decades as if it were one day, thus fostering literary youth, becoming one of those nameless heroes who are "pleased to make wedding clothes for others." The well-known authors Liu Shaotang and Cong Weixi were both trained by Yan Ming, and to this day still affectionately call him "Teacher Yan." Some of the writers of the forties that were fostered by him have already become professors; some of the writers of the fifties that he trained are already famous authors; and even some of the writers of the eighties trained by him are already quite influential new literary figures. But he himself is still only a diligent and conscientious editor who is unknown to the public. This spirit of self-sacrifice of Comrade Yan Ming in being pleased to be a nameless hero who is "pleased to make wedding clothes for others" is really moving, and causes one to admire him.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the party's Third plenum, in the wake of the implementation of the "double hundred" program the literary and artistic, theoretical, news reporting, and publishing fronts present a flourishing aspect. All kinds of newspapers, periodicals, and magazines have sprung up like bamboo shoots after spring rain, and are really a feast for the eyes; and there are a great many comrades engaged in editorial work, as unknown to the public as Yan Ming, who are shedding their heart's blood and sacrificing all of their energy in order to enable the enterprise of publishing the party's literature and art to flourish. This kind of editor deserves the praise of the broad masses of readers and writers. On acclaiming the appearance of each new work, and upon the maturation of each new talent, we definitely must see and realize that this represents the crystallization of so much precious heart's blood of editors who are pleased to be silent heroes. For this reason, those such as Comrade Chen Zufen who so devotedly take up their pens to do editorial work that serves to further the public image of others are really worthy of being emulated.

Of course, any affair at all is such that one divides into two. Just as we praise the legions of editors who are pleased to serve as nameless heroes, we also see some problems existing among the ranks of editors, among which the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization is worthy of arousing our attention. Apart from this, there really are some people who have been corrupted by improper practices, and have been guilty of some things which do harm to the virtue inherent in editing and have sullied the glorious epithet of nameless hero. On the basis of source materials that I have been able to consult, the principal improper practices in editorial work are manifested in the following areas:

The first is hankering after improving their "relationships." Some editors do not accept manuscripts on the basis of their quality, but decide whether or not a manuscript will be utilized on the basis of whether their relationship with the author is close or distant. If the relationship between them is "established enough," then even if the quality of the manuscript is mediocre or poor, they will give it "thumbs up" and allow it to appear, even to the extent that they will give the green light to works having bad political tendencies; on the other hand, even if the quality of a submitted manuscript is good [and their relationship with the author is not close enough], they will not be willing to spend the effort to work on it, and will very easily consign it to "limbo."

The second is expecting a portion of the writer's fee, with editor and author profiting from each other. There is a minority of editors who have a good grasp of the psychology of authors of wanting to have their manuscripts published, and who therefore let it be known that they expect an author to treat them to dinners and give them gifts as "recompense" for the "labor" of editing, even to the extent that they publicly make a "gentlemen's agreement" establishing a portion of the author's fee as a prerequisite for them using the manuscript, thus changing the comradely relationship of editor and author to one of money and business.

The third is the practice of dishing up works in a new form, and plagiarism. Some editors, seeing that a submitted manuscript has good viewpoints or material, withhold it from publication and take those viewpoints and material, steal them and dish them up in a new form, piece them together into an article, sign their own great name to it, and publish it. This kind of base practice is really gentility reaching rock bottom.

Though what has been said above only occurs on the part of a very small minority of editors, nevertheless the improper practices reflected therein are worthy of our serious attention, and we definitely must step up ideological construction among the ranks of editors. Concerned party organizations should educate editors to resist the corrosive influences of the improper practices in society, and must see that improper practices in editing work first of all harm the reputation of those engaged in party propaganda work; second, abet the general spread of improper practices in society; and third, serve to inhibit the maturation of newly-appearing creative forces, and have a negative influence on the flourishing of the enterprises of literature and art, political theory, news reporting, and publishing; and that the danger inherent in all this is considerable! An editor is engaged each day in the work of educating people, and is a glorious soldier sent by the party to the ideological front; he himself must have self-respect,

self-esteem, consider himself important, must be willing to engage in self-sacrifice, and must be pleased to serve as a paving stone, and pleased to "make wedding clothes for others." Of course, at the same time as advocating that editors not be overly concerned about their own honors, position, and remuneration, we should also call on concerned leading departments to actively find ways to improve the remuneration of editors, make a great effort to heighten the position of editors in society, be understanding of the hardships and difficulties in editorial work, and do their utmost to provide them with convenient working and living conditions; and all this is extremely necessary.

9634

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LARGE NUMBER OF MINORITY CADRES ELECTED TO LEADING BODIES

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 1

[Article: "A Large Number of Cadres Belonging to the Various Minorities of Our Province Have Entered County-Level Political Leading Bodies"]

[Text] This paper's reporters have obtained news from the relevant quarters that, through direct elections held at county level, a large number of outstanding cadres belonging to the various minority nationalities of our province have been elected to county-level political leading bodies. According to statistics coming from 110 counties, the number of minority cadres elected to be chairmen and deputy chairmen of people's county standing committees, committee members, and government heads of counties and deputy heads of counties has reached one thousand, comprising 41 percent of the total number of cadres serving on political leading bodies in these counties. Among them, of the total of 51 posts of chairmen of people's standing committees, heads of counties, and heads of law courts in the 17 self-governing counties where elections have already been concluded, all are held by minority cadres from the self-governing counties. This circumstance has created the proper conditions for the full exercise of the right of self-government by the minority nationalities.

The Provincial Committee and the people's Provincial Standing Committee place very great importance on the work of county level direct elections in the minority areas, regarding them as a great matter which serves to implement the party's policy on minorities, put equality among our nationalities into effect, strengthen unity among the various nationalities, and lead and support the minority nationalities' sense of being the masters of their own fate, and have earnestly stepped up their leadership that helped bring about [the elections]. In order to implement good electoral methods, on the basis of our province's minority nationalities' particular characteristics of being extremely dispersed, living in small, compact communities, and being scattered over a wide area, not only was full consideration given to providing for a proportionate representation for the various nationalities and including an element of the various nationalities in the leading bodies in counties where there are compact communities of minority nationalities but, in addition, attention was also paid to these problems in counties where minority nationalities are scattered or where there are several nationalities living together. At the same time, through various forms, the extensive propagandizing of the policy of equality and unity among the nationalities, and the great significance of democratic elections, the enthusiasm, and the sense of responsibility for

being the masters of their own fate of the various minority peoples was greatly aroused. Representatives of the various nationalities in many counties, in accordance with the party's line on cadres and conditions for the allocation of leading bodies, respected each other, consulted with each other again and again, and held the elections together in such a way as to cause to emerge just those people who are most able to manage things on behalf of the various nationalities. The masses expressed universal satisfaction with the personnel who were elected. They said that the party's policies are really good: economic policies have been relaxed; politically, democracy has been increased; equality and unity among the various nationalities are being implemented; and the more good days like this come, the more hope there will be. In some places, as soon as the results of the election were publicized, the masses of the various nationalities ran about telling each other, and spontaneously engaged in congratulatory activities.

The cadres of the various nationalities who had been elected to the political leading bodies were inspired with enthusiasm and spirit, and after taking up their posts went deep into the grassroots level, listened to the ideas of the masses of the various nationalities, actively dealt with representative proposals, and conscientiously set about solving the problems that pressingly needed to be solved with regard to their own county's production and the life of the masses, bringing about a new and vibrant atmosphere in every area of work.

9634

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IMPORTANCE OF SINCERITY IN LITERARY CRITICISM STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 81 p 8

[Article by Yu Huanchun[0151 3562 2504]: "Sincere Criticism Versus Gratuitous Criticism"]

[Text] Discussion of Wang Meng's works in newspapers and periodicals is no longer anything new. But Wang Meng's taking a letter criticizing him from a reader he had never met, sharing the enjoyment of its content with others of similar tastes and clearly reporting what was written in it is a new and interesting matter.

Recently we have heard that the critical review entitled "I Am Disappointed!" published last July in the BEIJING EVENING PAPER was originally a letter addressed by a reader to Wang Meng, and that Wang Meng sincerely hoped that the evening paper would publish it. This letter criticized recent works of Wang Meng's such as "Looking at Flowers in the Mist" and "Causing People, All at Once, Not To Comprehend," and the style of the criticism was relatively sharp. In between the lines, however, was revealed such feelings of concern, respect, and cherishing the author that one was also quite moved, and it could even be regarded as a precious critical letter. What was good, was acknowledged to be good, and what was bad was called bad. There were no innuendoes or oblique references, no insinuations, and even less so was there gratuitous criticism without the slightest basis in fact; the reader's ideas were truly and sincerely set down in the letter, and sent to the author himself. Can this degree of enthusiasm fail to move the person being criticized? In criticism one must be very careful to make one's words sincere, for what is sincere will be efficacious.

There are many, many forms of literary and artistic criticism, and this method of writing letters is very worthy of being advocated. Whatever form is adopted, however, one must be totally sincere and aboveboard.

Some people ask Wang Meng: "When people criticize your works, aren't you angry?" "Me, I'm not capable of getting angry [over such a thing]; if other people criticize your works, it shows that people consider you important." Wang Meng's taking a letter criticizing himself to a newspaper and having it published also clearly indicates that he considers people's criticism important. Among authors, critics, and the broad masses of readers, only if there is mutual respect, the adoption

of a comradely, friendly style of discussion, and criticism along with self-criticism, can there be any interaction that will develop into a progressive force giving impetus to the improvement of our lives. Even if the criticism is incorrect, it doesn't matter; it can pass through a critical argument, enabling both the work and the criticism to advance together. That is exactly the way things are; as soon as such a letter is made public, it immediately gives rise to a critical discussion. Some people agree others object; everyone presents facts, and reasons pointing out the work's shortcomings and praising its good points, so that both the critic and the person criticized learn something from it. Modesty enables one to progress. Such a talented author as Wang Meng being able to embody the virtue of being "pleased upon hearing of one's fault" and adopting such a positive attitude towards criticism clearly indicates that our policy of criticism and self-criticism is in the process of embarking upon a normal path. This atmosphere of normal criticism needs to be cultivated by all of us together, and we should no longer allow the stick to strike indiscriminately.

People were in favor of criticism during the period of the "great cultural revolution"; however, the kind of criticism that is intended to incriminate people, deriving the style and method of criticism from the content of what is being criticized, should not be repeated again. What is worthy of our attention is the fact that some of the intimidating methods that were in use at that time are nevertheless very difficult to eradicate all at once. The practice of, in criticizing, arbitrarily adding anything that comes to mind gratuitously is an example of this. In writing essays it is hard to avoid bringing one's natural associations into full play in writing upon a certain topic, yet one must seek truth from facts. Not long ago, reading Feng Yingzi's essay "We Must Have a Little of the Spirit of Moving Mountains" (JIEFANG-RIBAO, 12 July), I felt that it was quite good. The article said that in our actual lives there are the many invisible mountains of local chauvinism, mountain-stronghold mentality, and selfish departmentalism "blocking our forward path," and brought up the fact that we must employ the spirit of the foolish old man who wanted to move mountains to eradicate these "mountains" in order to clear the path for the great army of the four modernizations. Its intention was good, and positive. Afterwards, I also saw Zhen Qian's article "[You] Must Also Do a Bit of Moving" [JIEFANG RIBAO, 13 September] criticizing that essay for failing to differentiate between today's "mountains" and the "mountains" of the thirties, which was the same as having forgotten 1949; it said that bringing up the idea of moving those invisible "mountains" was the same as wanting to have another "great cultural revolution," even going so far as to call the author's concern the "bad habit of an old-style literary man," wanting him to shift his standpoint, to take "certain of the things in his mind and 'move them a bit.'" And this doesn't yet count; having already said that kind of thing, at the end he added the sentence: "I trust that this will not be misunderstood to be a 'stick' [unfair attack]." Whatever shortcomings or mistakes Feng Yingzi's essay possessed, they could all have been discussed openly in perfect sincerity, on the basis of the facts; there was no need to jump about making facile, gratuitous criticism, producing so many accusations. Zhen Qian's article made me feel rather oppressed. This kind of arbitrary, gratuitous criticism is doubtless an impediment to appropriate, balanced criticism and self-criticism, and it is this impediment on the contrary, that must be "moved a little."

9634

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IMPLICATIONS OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION DISCUSSED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [PLA LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 11, Nov 81
pp 106-108

[Article by Liu Jin [0491 6855]: "Liberalization Is Not a Windmill--Thoughts After Reading an Article"]

[Text] A friend sent me an issue of a journal from Gansu and told me that there was a particular article in it, an article on "Free Literature and Bourgeois Liberalization," which he wanted me to read very carefully. Following his request, I read the article and felt that although this article was published in February of this year, it still had a realistic meaning when one looks at it today. Its realistic meaning lies in the fact that the author's views and attitude with respect to this erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization are rather representative of some literary and art workers at present.

In order to explore the question as to "whether during the past 30-odd years since the founding of our state, bourgeois liberalization has appeared in our literary and art circles," the author of this article "reviewed anew" our history. As a result of this "new review," the author holds: "From the founding of our state until the downfall of the 'gang of four,' no bourgeois liberalization whatsoever had appeared in China's literary and art circles. Then, up to today, have any particularly peculiar phenomenon occurred in China's social life which, contrary to our common belief, have caused 'bourgeois liberalization' to occur in our literary and art circles?" The article continues: "What after all is the factual basis for thinking that a tendency to pursue bourgeois liberalization has appeared? What is bourgeois liberalization? On these two points, comrades who hold such a view have never made a clear, forceful reply."

Thus the author of the article proceeded to provide the reply himself. He first quoted a passage from Comrade Mao Zedong's article "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing": "'Transformation' means thorough change, from top to bottom and inside out; yet some people who have not made even a slight change are calling for a 'transformation.'" On the basis of this interpretation of "transformation" on the part of Comrade Mao Zedong, the article holds: If there had ever been any bourgeois liberalization in our literary and art circles, "naturally that would not have been limited to the question of there having been some 'slight' bourgeois freedom, but a 'transformation' by bourgeois freedom 'from top to bottom and inside out' would have occurred."

I feel that it is rather improper to quote this passage from Comrade Mao Zedong's work and thereby define bourgeois liberalization in this manner. When he stated the above in response to the question, being discussed at the time, of the transformation to a mass style in literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong's intention was but to wish literary and art workers "not just to prate but sincerely to want to transform to a mass style." If they "keep clamoring for transformation to a mass style" but "are not really determined to learn from the masses," then in reality "their minds are still confined within their own small circles." Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said that only a "thorough change, from top to bottom and inside out" could be called "transformation." This was simply for the purpose of stressing that, from words to deeds on the part of writers and artists and from form to content in the case of their works, there must be a real commitment to "transformation." Comrade Mao Zedong was entirely correct in saying so, but we can definitely not on this basis thereby define "transformation" in terms of a "thorough change from top to bottom and inside out" and apply it indiscriminately, irrespective of circumstances. If it is so mechanically applied, then not only will the suggestion of "bourgeois liberalization" not be able to stand the test but all other kinds of "transformation" will become untenable. For instance, in the case of planting trees to make a city green, how are you going to achieve that "thorough change, from top to bottom and inside out?" People often say that certain new poems have a tendency to "transform themselves into prose." Naturally this is not the same as suggesting that these poems are actually "transformed" into prose, "from top to bottom and inside out." As for saying that a certain piece of land has become "salinized/alkalized," most certainly no one would be led to understand that this piece of land has been "transformed" into saline/alkali "from top to bottom and inside out." Likewise, if we say that there has been some bourgeois liberalization in literary and art circles, I think it is unlikely that any such "extremely serious" misunderstanding would be caused.

Yet, made rigid by this definition he himself had created, the author of the article became tense and felt repelled as soon as "bourgeois liberalization" was mentioned, saying: "If the situation is really so extremely serious, do our literary and art circles need to launch another large-scale criticism movement and again stage a 'great revolution' within and without!"

Little does the author seem to know that the party's attitude has always been very clear: with respect to the various erroneous tendencies, including bourgeois liberalization, we should conduct solemn criticism and not let these [tendencies] spread freely. But in conducting such criticism, we must seek truth from facts, be understanding and reasonable, and also study relevant methods, help people through such criticism, refrain from launching any movement, and refrain from besieging people. During the past few years, the party has repeatedly declared that in literary and art criticism we must adhere to the "three-not principle" of "not using the stick, not attaching labels, and not to seizing on people's shortcomings." In early February last year, a leading comrade on the Central Committee openly and solemnly stated: Hereafter the party will never permit the practice of condemning a writer as a counterrevolutionary because he has written an erroneous work. During the past few years, and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the 4th National Congress of Literary and Art Circles, have literary and art circles not put this into practice? Facts are more eloquent than argument. Why should anyone immediately think, by association, of such a

thing as "launching another large-scale criticism movement and again staging a 'great revolution' within and without" as soon as opposition to bourgeois liberalization is mentioned? What good is it for anyone to look at a problem and suggest a problem in this way, except to frighten others and cause himself to be neurasthenic?

The article--after citing some references and discoursing a bit about how "in a bourgeois society literary and art activities are free, but this freedom is directly controlled and constrained by the relationship to money"--immediately confused what we call bourgeois liberalization today with "false bourgeois freedom controlled by money," and thereupon asserted: "In the past few years, we probably still cannot say that the pursuit by writers and artists of false bourgeois freedom controlled by money...has already become a trend, a 'transformed' trend." The result of thus exchanging the underlying concepts stealthily served to get the reader completely confused. Actually, the question could not have been clearer. In a socialist society, so-called bourgeois liberalization means words and deeds which suggest an attempt to cast off the party's leadership, deviate from the socialist course, and oppose the four basic principles. This is entirely different from "false bourgeois freedom."

After refuting various views on bourgeois liberalization, the article further asserted: "Up to now, there are still no sufficient, verifiable facts to prove... that bourgeois liberalization has appeared in the realm of literature and art. Under such circumstances, the suggestion put forward anew today to struggle against the erroneous tendencies of bourgeois liberalization serves nothing but to fabricate a paper enemy once more....We cannot follow the same old disastrous road again and become a Don Quixote fighting windmills."

If the facts really are as this article described, then has no tendency of bourgeois liberalization ever existed in our literary and art circles? No! As recently as 9 September, Xinhua News Agency simultaneously transmitted two news items on the present state of our literature and art. One item said: "A tendency toward bourgeois liberalization has occurred in our literary and art work." "Some people have put emancipation of our thinking and the double-hundred principle in opposition to the four basic principles. Some even say that the four basic principles are restrictions and four sticks. Some people don't want the party's leadership, and some even trumpet the idea that playwrights must 'grow a few rebellious bones.' Some think literature and art are nothing more than self-demonstrations on the part of writers and artists themselves; they are opposed to having literary and artistic creations consider the social effects. These situations reflect that a few people in literary and art circles...want to keep away from the leadership of the Communist Party, keep away from the socialist course, and resort to bourgeois liberalization." The other item said: "The question that now lies before us is to affirm our achievements, correct our defects, change the state of laxity and feebleness, and overcome the tendency of bourgeois liberalization."--I am not aware of how the author of this article felt after reading these two news items. Was such a clear proposal to criticize and overcome the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization by a few people in literary and art circles "once more the fabrication of a paper enemy?" Or was it representative of becoming a Don Quixote fighting windmill?"

Perhaps the author would say: These news items were transmitted on 9 September, but my article was written early this year. Can you ask me to have the magic power at the beginning of the year to foresee bourgeois liberalization 9 months later?

It is both correct and incorrect to put it this way. Correct in that one can, of course, not ask a comrade to have such power to "foresee," and one cannot criticize, on the basis of new situations developing today, an old article written 9 months ago. But the problem is that bourgeois liberalization and its various manifestations mentioned in the news items did not come into existence only on 9 September. A considerable portion of them existed long before you wrote your article, and they were pointed out by people long ago. Was your article not written precisely because you saw people "calling upon" others to "oppose bourgeois liberalization?" As a matter of fact, before you wrote this article, "Unrequited Love" and erroneous works like "Unrequited Love" had already appeared, and erroneous expressions suggesting attempts to keep away from the party's leadership and keep away from the socialist course had long been made. And views which took the four basic principles as "four sticks" or "restrictions" to be opposed, views which took the suggestion to pay attention to the social effects of literary and art works as "blowing a cold wind," as an "all-inclusive stick," likewise had long been expressed....All of these things indicate that before this article was written, the erroneous trend of bourgeois liberalization already objectively existed in our literary and art circles. Therefore, it is incorrect to take the pointing out and criticizing of such an erroneous trend as "once more fabricating a paper enemy" equivalent to Don Quixote "fighting windmills." Not only one should not say so today, but even at the beginning of the year no one should have had any reason to say so, either.

Later on, the article also acknowledged: Among literary and art works, there may well be some "erroneous," "backward" things. But it then said: "That such various ideas are reflected" "is definitely not any bourgeois liberalization." If anyone should feel "unaccustomed to" this situation and proceed to criticize such erroneous things, that would be very serious; the "freedom of literary and art activities would be seriously encroached upon." And that would mean "remnants of feudal cultural autocracy plaguing the field, or even an ominous portent of national decline." This kind of talk is really rather frightening! Then, erroneous things simply cannot be criticized? No! Historical experience proves that it definitely won't do if we choose to be simplistic and crude with respect to such erroneous things, indiscriminately raise them to the plane of principle, criticize and struggle against them at random, and fight them in a topsy-turvy manner. On the other hand, not to bother with them or even to prostrate ourselves before them won't do either! Knowing only how to kowtow to, but not to criticize, such erroneous things is called metaphysics, and this is bound to lead one to ultimate grief.

Finally, what I wish to say is that bourgeois liberalization is definitely not a "windmill," much less "made of paper." What we need to do right now is none other than to pertinently conduct criticism and self-criticism with respect to such erroneous tendencies of bourgeois liberalization, in the manner of seeking truth from facts and helping people through criticism. Only in this way can socialist literature and art really prosper in a healthy manner and develop forward!

'SHIDAIDE BAOGAO' ATTACKS HONG KONG ARTICLE ON BAI HUA INCIDENT

Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 12, 1 Dec 81 pp 16-18

[Article by Xie Zhongkai [6200 6850 7030]: "Firing Criticism at a Hong Kong Newspaper"]

[Text] HONG KONG SHANG PAO Printed That Small Article

On 6 June of this year, the special column "Observations From the Sea" in a Hong Kong "leftist newspaper"--HONG KONG SHANG PAO--carried a short article by Mr Ding Cong [0002 3222] entitled "Repercussions of 'Unrequited Love'" which was less than 750 characters in length. The "hot news" created by the "Bai Hua [4101 2901] incident," in which Bai Hua's "Unrequited Love" was jointly attacked by JIEFANGJUN BAO and SHIDAIDE BAOGAO, had stopped for the time being. Mr Ding Cong's short article was therefore not so much news as merely an expression of his feelings and views, and it aroused no attention abroad.

Public opinion overseas and in Hong Kong was very concerned with the "Bai Hua incident" in China. At that time in China, where public opinion was controlled, noted personalities of newspapers, journals, and literary and art circles had to undergo attack by innuendo when they expressed their resentment over the brutal criticism of Bai Hua by the army newspaper. In Hong Kong, where there is freedom of speech, the intensity of the reaction of public opinion needs not be mentioned. One can recall that quite a few "leftist newspapers" in Hong Kong at that time had expressed veiled disapproval of the brutal criticism of Bai Hua. Mr Ding Cong's short article in HONG KONG SHANG PAO was merely an opinion relevant to the "leftist newspapers," but it was much milder than the views of non-"leftist newspapers."

SHIDAIDE BAOGAO Denounced SHANG PAO

Three months later, [the article] "Repercussions" was treated as though it were "great waves." Huang Gang [7806 6921], who gained a reputation for his early attack on Bai Hua, suddenly pointed the spearhead at HONG KONG SHANG PAO. In issue No 3 (published 15 September) of SHIDAIDE BAOGAO, a large-size literary periodical edited by Huang Gang, he earnestly published an article of "great revolutionary criticism" entitled "Such Poor Words in Hong Kong SHANG BAO!" which was four times longer than Ding Cong's short article and which clearly attacked HONG KONG SHANG PAO and Mr Ding Cong. Its author was Guo Hailin [6753 3189 2651], a student in the Economics Department at Beijing University who had "visited writer Huang Gang more than once."

This article, "Such Poor Words," which regarded itself "an article of great revolutionary criticism," was not excessive because, after a long absence, language of the style of the "Cultural Revolution" and "small revolutionary generals" all poured down on Mr Ding Cong's head; it lacked the style of criticism of the comradely "internal revolutionary units" as well as reasoning "in the manner of a gentle breeze and a light rain" advocated by the Chinese Communists. This economics student at Beijing University, who has close ties with and is a confessed supporter of Huang Gang, criticized Ding Cong, saying: "This man in his writing can really be said to have done this best to deceive people by cooking up stories." [He also criticized Ding Cong for] "making 'waves' with the pen," and "going too far." From the higher plane of principle and two-line struggle, he said that the short article by Ding Cong "intends" to "obstruct the discussion of 'Unrequited Love,'" "attack Chairman Mao Zedong by innuendo," "deliberately incite the people to rebel against all those who participate or plan to participate in the discussion of 'Unrequited Love,'" "intimidate discussants who do not agree with the ideological trend of 'Unrequited Love,'" "abet individual scoundrels who fear the might of the masses and have not acted rashly," "desire to see fires in the capital," and plot to "pull someone's chestnuts out of the fire!" This mass of labels can be described by a pet phrase of the people in Hong Kong: "Are you scared?"

This young student can be said to have inherited the "style" of his senior, Huang Gang, in being likably leftist. Overseas personages say that it was surprisingly that he and Huang Gang would trust insignificant Ding Cong, writing a short article that really has no significance abroad, as a "large-scale battle" and attack him as "the No 1 enemy." If this is not because leftist poison is taking effect, it is at least making a mountain out of a molehill.

Has Anti-"Liberalization" Come to Hong Kong?

Actually, although sales of HONG KONG SHANG PAO are not bad, and above average among "leftist newspapers," nevertheless its influence in Hong Kong is limited. Ding Cong's short article was placed in an inconspicuous, small special column. Very few people in China can see it, and its influence [there] is extremely limited. Thus, even if the newspaper contained inaccuracies of (?) [sic], it would cause no problem. It is often unavoidable for a newspaper to commit occasional inaccuracies and errors. Even today, the Chinese Communist RENMIN RIBAO is still calling on newspapers to overcome "falsification, exaggeration, and vagueness," which proves that the Chinese Communist press has not overcome "falsification." Even if the HONG KONG SHANG PAO did publish an article that perhaps contains a little bit of inaccuracy of (?), why fire heavy cannons at it?

The article in SHIDAIDE BAOGAO that attacks HONG KONG SHANG PAO uses diplomatic language at the end of the article to launch a "protest" against the latter and issues an ultimatum demanding that Mr Ding "write an open apology in the HONG KONG SHANG PAO," for this would be the only way to "spare Mr Ding Cong's personal reputation from total ruin" and also so that the SHANG PAO may "obtain forgiveness from readers at home and abroad."

This makes people think of a question: Was the attack on HONG KONG SHANG PAO by SHIDAIDE BAOGAO caused by leftist poison acting up in Huang Gang, or was it foreboding that anti-"liberalization" has come to Hong Kong--or at least that "leftist newspapers" in Hong Kong must oppose "liberalization?" We can only wait and see.

[From this point on, CHENG MING reprints the text of Guo Hailin's article]

Appendix: SHIDAIDE BAOGAO article: "Such Poor Words in Hong Kong SHANG PAO!" by Guo Hailin, student of the Economics Department, Beijing University

After reading the article "Repercussions of 'Unrequited Love'" in the column "Observations From the Sea," published on 10 June in the HONG KONG SHANG PAO, I was very infuriated by the monstrous lies Mr Ding Cong concocted. This man can really be said to have done his best in his writing to deceive people by cooking up stories. Because of this, we find it necessary to say a few words to our compatriots at home and abroad in order to ensure a correct understanding of the facts.

This author is a student at Beijing University and is a figure in the "disturbances over 'Unrequited Love.'" During the time when special columnist Mr Ding Cong of the HONG KONG SHANG PAO was giving his concern and attention to "Unrequited Love," this author visited writer Mr Huang Gang of Beijing University more than once (the last visit was made on 30 June), and found out for certain that Huang's home had never undergone any so-called attacks. There was no need at all for Mr Ding to feel the "rise and fall of waves of repercussions" because of what was "alleged." If Mr Ding really feels the "rise and fall of waves of repercussions," then where do the "waves" come from? We can only say that Mr Ding himself actually made the "waves" with his pen!

After Mr Huang Gang resolutely wrote to criticize "Unrequited Love," he received letters from personalities from different quarters (including those who praised him and those who opposed him). Among these was a threatening letter from someone anonymous but signed "a student at Beijing University" (even though it was anonymous, the letter did not contain words threatening the "ransacking" of his home). Mr Huang Gang laughed about this with visitors (e.g., this author). He felt that this person might not be a student at Beijing University. The chairman of the student union at Beijing University, Zhang Wei [1728 3555], visited the editorial department of SHIDAIDE BAOGAO more than once and agreed that one could not guarantee that the person who wrote such a rude and anonymous letter was not a Beijing University student, but that the anonymous writer could not represent the majority of students at Beijing University. He told Huang Gang, the literary and art commentator of SHIDAIDE BAOGAO, that there was no need to mention anything about it. When the students at Beijing University heard that someone had written an anonymous threatening letter, they either felt it was shameful or were indignant. Many of them declared they would not tolerate it if such individual scum dared to act crazily. The rumor might have started here. Unexpectedly, Mr Ding Cong took the rumor as the basis of his argument and even slandered Beijing University students wantonly and more intensely, calling them lawless criminals who beat, smash, and cause trouble. Such words by Mr Ding Cong truly strayed far from the point and were highly erroneous.

Mr Lu Xun said a long time ago that abuse and threats are absolutely not the same as fighting. Chinese people have always felt that those who hurl insults are rascals, that those who make threats are weak, and that those who spread rumors are shameful. In the 1980's these methods surely cannot prevail; does Mr Ding also feel that these are "uncivilized acts?" Nevertheless, he used "but" to make laments and gave imposing reasoning. I really work about Mr Ding and feel pity for the reputation of his articles in the special column.

Hong Kong is a place where news travels fast. Since Mr Ding heard the unwarranted rumor that Huang's home "was attacked by angry Beijing University students," he should also have heard the true news from Beijing University, but he did not wish to involve himself with the mainstream of the discussion of "Unrequited Love" by Beijing University students. Instead, he labeled the evil stream of gossip as something "alleged" and based his writings on it. (Actually, most of the students of Beijing University whose views differ from those of Huang Gang are earnest thinkers. The difference in views between them, the frankness in what they say, and their contention for one school of thought are purely a normal phenomenon. Besides, the number of people at Beijing University who agree with Huang Gang's criticism is not small.) This author does not really wish to go into the moral nature of this.

Even harder to agree with is Mr Ding's lamentations in using the subject under discussion to assert his own ideas. First, like certain people, Mr Ding believes that Mr Huang Gang was waving the big stick in his discussion of "Unrequited Love." This is the ideological foundation of circulated rumor. It should be understood that criticism and waving the big stick are not the same thing. The latter takes advantage of the form of the former and uses the stick to demolish opposing points of view and those who express them, and this presumes an authority that is higher or one that robs the legitimate rights of the other party. As a commentator for a journal engaged in literary reportage, how can Mr Huang Gang have such authority? When the students at Beijing University discussed how they could implement the policy of contention, someone said: There are generally three criteria by which to judge whether one is waving the big stick: (1) whether the original article by the other party is made public at the time of the criticism; (2) whether the other party is allowed to counter criticize; and (3) whether the other party is forced to go into hiding. Accordingly, a student who disagrees with Huang Gang's views believes that Huang Gang did not intend to wave the big stick but merely was frankly stating his own viewpoints for discussion. Another student whom I met for the first time at a dining table believes that Huang Gang quoted objectively from the material of "Unrequited Love," though his arguments not been accepted by everyone. I think when Mr Ding saw the article criticizing "Unrequited Love," he was reminded of the joint attack in the Yao Wenyuan style and thought that it should not be forgotten. Yao Wenyuan was not merely a literary writer but a literary prostitute who usurped political power when he seized party leadership. Should Mr Ding regard any writer as being like Yao Wenyuan, and any criticism as being a big stick?

As for Mr Ding's allegation that "Chinese people are docile like cows and sheep, enduring humiliation [in return] for temporary ease and tolerating in silence the big stick of Yao Wenyuan because everyone understood that behind Yao Wenyuan there were people more tyrannical than him," not only does this attack Chairman Mao Zedong by innuendo but it deliberately instigates the people to seek to quarrel with and rebel against all those who participate or plan to participate in the discussion of "Unrequited Love." All those whom Mr Ding dislikes are blamed for accepting the "official" order to wave the big stick in the manner of Yao Wenyuan. But we must ask in turn: If a publication that is even more professional in its literary and art criticism than SHIDAIDE BAOGAO were in this or that form to publish views against Huang Gang, would this also be waving the big stick in the manner of Yao Wenyuan? Mr Ding precisely intends to obstruct the discussion of "Unrequited Love." On this point as a special columnist of HONG KONG SHANG PAO, do you think you have gone too far?

Second, when Mr Ding blamed Huang Gang for waving the big stick, he said that in the past, "If the official big stick of opinion is waved and a commentator points out a name in an article, misfortune will befall the person being criticized, with the effect extending to six relations." But clearly this confuses matters of two different periods. Is this reasonable? At most, this is merely what Chinese people often refer to as the psychology of "once having been bitten by a snake, the victim is scared of a rope in a well for 10 years." The fear is a reaction because he has been bitten by a snake. Nevertheless, it is unreasonable, because a rope in a well can never bite anyone. One cannot accuse a rope of being a poisonous snake. Do you agree? What should be done? I think it is all right if an educated and brave person steps forward and uses the rope up to draw water from the well. As for reaction to every fear, using fire to attack the rope in the well, this is truly and pitifully brave. In short, I feel that the poisonous snake should be eliminated but the rope in the well should not be removed. I wonder if Mr Ding agrees.

Third, Mr Ding admits that he does not agree with the act of "raiding one's home and breaking one's windows." He not only believes that there is a good reason for it, but he has found the historical anecdote of Ruan Dacheng [7086 1129 6855 2052] being beaten by the students of Donglin to threaten those discussing the ideological tendency of "Unrequited Love" (has Mr Ding lamented that, for 2 years since the publication of "Unrequited Love," almost no one dared to criticize it?) and to abet individual scoundrels who fear the might of the masses and have not acted rashly (alleged to have "attacked" Huang's home and "broken" the windows). Is this a desire to see fires in the capital?

Of course, the factors of all ideological trends in society are basically complex, and rumors are truly not easy to eliminate. After Huang Gang and others criticized "Unrequited Love," nonsense to the effect that Huang Gang's salary had been raised, that he was living in a house that was like a palace, and so forth followed. This was of course sheer nonsense, because as far as this author knows and has seen, Huang Gang has absolutely nothing to do with what these absurd rumors allege. Is he not still living in the same old ordinary apartment house, quietly writing his articles in his crowded room, and are his window panes not undamaged? His home has never been senselessly disturbed. But rumors have provided Mr Ding with plenty of capital for his laments. If Mr Ding wishes, he can collect more [material] to make more laments, so that he can clamor for his desire to see fires in the capital. But Mr Ding has probably forgotten what he himself said: Today is not like the chaotic years of the past. If it is believed that one can do as one pleases, "then it will have been a miscalculation." Finally, I wish to remind Mr Ding Cong: If there are fires in the capital, how can you pull one's chestnuts out of the fire if you are observing from across the ocean?

As I see it, Ding Cong and his kind "should wake up to reality." The chances for "pulling one's chestnuts from the fire" are quite uncertain, and it is better to get the facts straight first. Did you yourself say: "All lies cannot hide historical truth?!"

The author has written this article in protest as a student at Beijing University. Mr Ding should write an open apology in the HONG KONG SHANG PAO. He should not fear correcting mistakes. This will not only spare Mr Ding Cong's personal reputation from total ruin, but the HONG KONG SHANG PAO can obtain forgiveness from its readers at home and abroad by correcting its mistakes and seeking truth from facts.

FORMER NATIONALIST PEACE DELEGATE APPEALS TO TAIWAN FOR UNIFICATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Cai Xinyi [5591 1800 6965]: "No Greater Good For the Country and the People Than Peaceful Unification--A Visit to Newly Elected National People's Consultative Conference Vice-Chairman Liu Fei [0491 2431]"]

[Text] The Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Political Consultative Conference elected Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Vice-Chairman Liu Fei deputy chairman of the National People's Political Consultative Conference on 14 December. On the same day we arrived at Mr Liu Fei's house to have a heart to heart talk and to warmly congratulate him.

The 83 year old Liu has worked continuously for more than 30 years for the peaceful unification of the motherland. He told us that in future he is determined to continue to follow the teachings and inspiration of Mr Sun Zongshan to devote efforts to promotion of peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communists for the realization of the cause of the unity of the motherland. Recalling the situation in the early years when he followed Mr Sun Zhongshan on the Eastern Campaign and the Northern Expedition, he said: All his life Mr Sun Zhongshan cherished the unity of the country and its people, and on his deathbed, he gasped, "peace, struggle, save China." Mr Sun Zhongshan used countless facts to teach us that all the Chinese people, the posterity of the yellow race, are capable of uniting.

Liu said that in order to bring to a close as early as possible the unfortuitous situation of a break-up of the Chinese race, as long ago as New Years 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued the "Declaration of Taiwan Compatriots", and most recently the head of the Military Affairs Committee, Ye Jianying put forward nine points for peaceful unification, proposing that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party enter into talks to bring about the third cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. All who love the Chinese race and the Chinese nation should react in accordance with the development of history to such a proposal which is fair and reasonable and lenient toward the Kuomintang.

"Cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was first advocated by Mr Sun Zhongshan." Liu said that Mr Sun Zhongshan sought truth and supported revolution, steadily progressing with changes in the times. In his late years he learned the lessons of several failures, abandoning some outmoded notions. He welcomed the help of the Chinese Communist Party, accepted advice provided by the

Chinese Communist Party on the Chinese revolution, and resolutely adopted the three major policies of alliance with Russia, alliance with the Communist Party, and help to agriculture and industry, developing the original Three Principles of the People into a new Three Principles of the People suited to the needs of the era, and formed a united front with the Chinese Communist Party against imperialism and against feudalism. He personally joined and led the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to create the necessary prerequisites for history in the Northern Expedition and advance the success of the Northern Expedition wars.

Liu said that in his will Mr Sun Zhongshan emphatically pointed out that one of the urgent tasks is national unification, and he wanted us to carry on his unfulfilled wish and continue to struggle. Liu thought deeply for a moment and said that while he was alive Mr Sun Zhongshan was always concerned about the fate of Taiwan compatriots. Taiwan was one of the places in which Mr Sun Zhongshan sown the seeds of revolution most early. He went to Taiwan on three occasions. It was a pity that before his death he had been unable to witness the return of Taiwan to the breast of the motherland. Though Mr Sun Zhongshan took leave of the world some time ago, his revolutionary spirit, and particularly his ideas about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, impelled the sons and daughters of the Chinese race, when the race was in peril, to bring about the second cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to win great victory in the war of resistance to Japan. Not only was the Chinese race rescued, but Taiwan, which had been ceded to Japan for 50 years, was recovered.

Conversation turned from the two periods in history of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to the peace talks to 1949. On 1 April of that year, Liu together with Messrs Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Zhang Zhizhao, Huang Shaohong, and Liheng reached Beijing as representatives of the Kuomintang. Following several days of talks with a Chinese Communist delegation headed by Zhou Enlai, they reached agreement on the "Internal Peace Agreement" containing eight articles in 24 sections. Because the Kuomintang government refused to sign it and fled to Taiwan Province, another situation of long-term lack of unification of the motherland has ensued. Liu said with boundless emotion, "Those of us who were peace delegates at the time, still feel extraordinarily sorry today. Furthermore, the two periods of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the peace talks, both demonstrated that the Chinese Communist Party truly hoped for the peaceful unification of the motherland, all the strands being one!"

Next Liu told us a story.

Once Chairman Mao invited him to dinner in the course of which Liu asked Chairman Mao, "Do you know how to play mahjong?"

Chairman Mao said, "Yes."

Liu took the occasion to probe a little and asked, "Chairman Mao, do you prefer to play straights or do you prefer to play flushes?"

Chairman Mao said, "Straights [all of the same suit or consensus] are best. I don't like flushes [different suits or lack of consensus]." Then Chairman Mao said right away, "Flushes [lack of consensus] are difficult; straights [consensus] are easy."

This dialogue actually reflected proposals for cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and Liu resolved never to forget it. Liu said, "This is what Chairman Mao said, and this is what the Chinese Communist Party did. In the leadership organs of the central government--the National People's Congress and the National People's Political Consultative Conference--large numbers of non-communists discuss national policies together. The Chinese Communist Party still wants everybody to act as friends who will give forthright admonition."

History is the most powerful witness. Liu said, "Unification of the motherland is an inevitable trend in the development of history. It bears on the fundamental well-being of the Chinese race, and is the common desire of the 1 billion Chinese people. I wholeheartedly hope that old friends and old colleagues in Taiwan realize this, consider it carefully, and make a positive response."

Liu said, "Last February I wrote an article, sending word to old friends and old colleagues in Taiwan on the subject "Of the 36 stratagems, the best is peace." Now I would still like to tell the Taiwan authorities: Of the 36 stratagems, the best is still peace. There is no greater good for the country and the people than peaceful unification. The delegates of bygone years, Messrs Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Zhang Shizhao, Huang Shaohong, and Li Zheng have passed away. While they lived, they worked tirelessly to promote peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to realize the cause of national unification. Now I am the only one of the alive, and so to exert some efforts to promote peace talks is my unshirkable responsibility, and it is also my lifetime desire.

Despite his many years, Liu's steadfastness in rendering service to the people is unshakeable. As we were preparing to part, he made on further earnest comment warmly welcoming old classmates, old colleagues, old friends and their families to returned to the mainland and to their old hometowns to look around, visit relatives, call on friends, talk over old times, or else to exchange historical materials, swap experiences, or exchange the benefits of experience about Mr Sun Zhongshan and the 1911 revolution, the campaign against Yuan Shikai, the campaign to defend the constitution, the Eastern Campaign, the Northern Expedition, or the War of Resistance to Japan.

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